

UC-NRLF



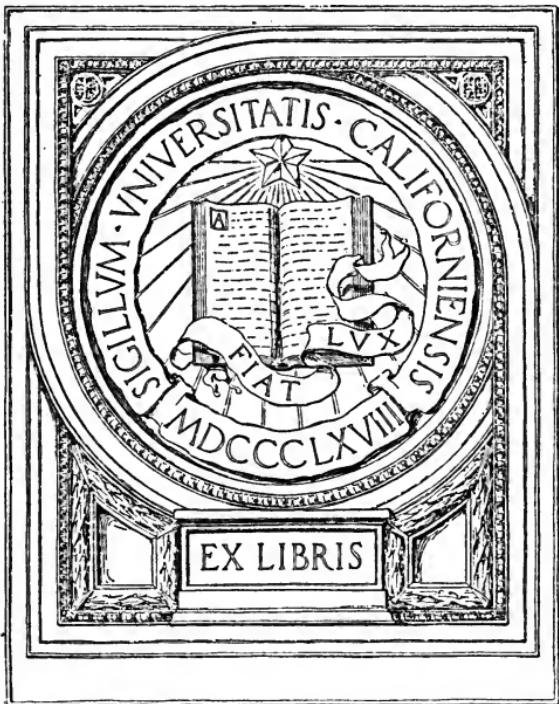
SB 116 717

8352

Digitized by the Internet Archive  
in 2007 with funding from  
Microsoft Corporation

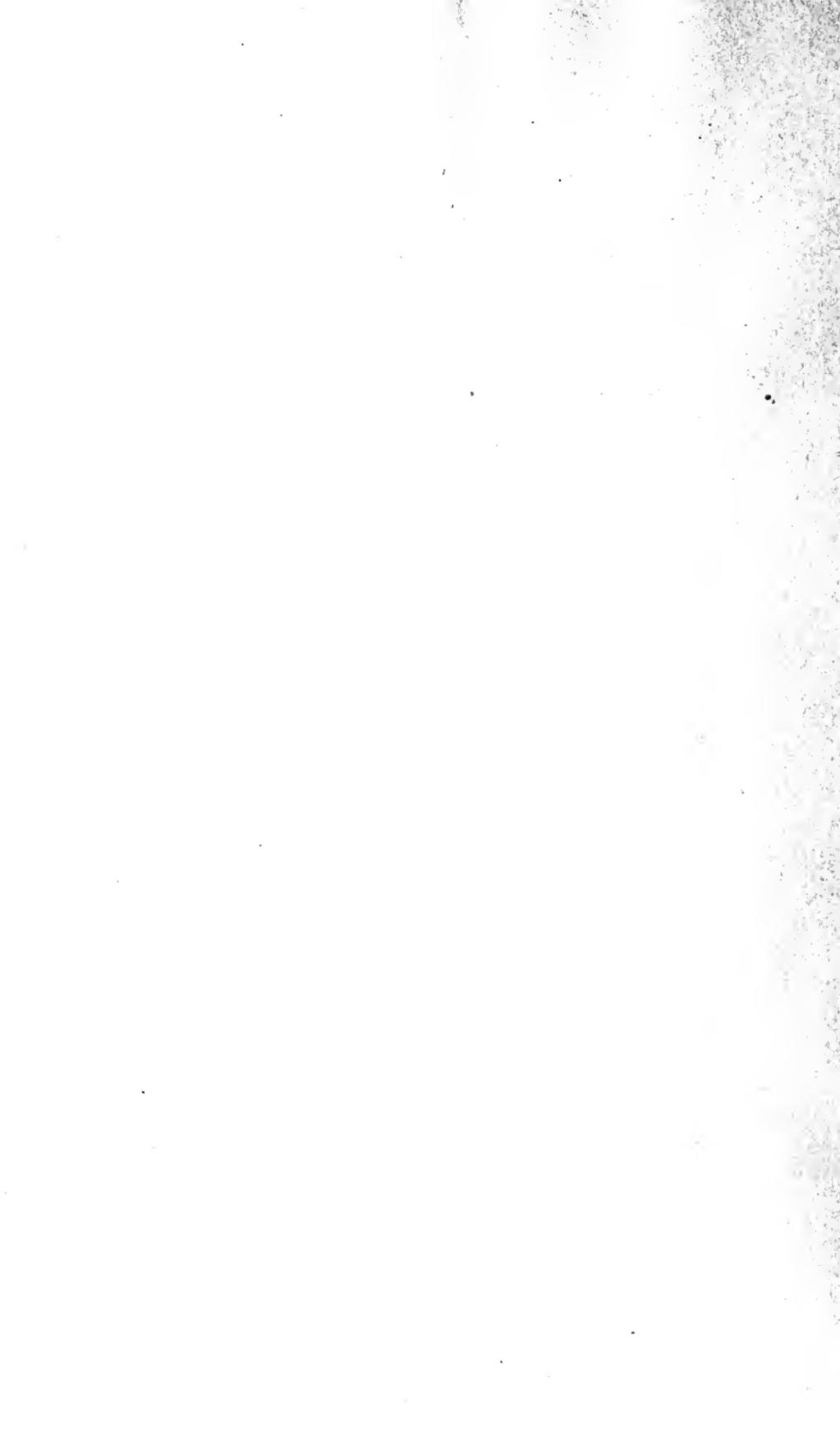
GIFT OF

*Benjamin Ide Wheeler*



921  
B877

v-2



*Comp. by the author*

The Language  
of the  
Rushworth Gloss  
to the  
Gospel of Matthew  
and the  
Mercian Dialect  
Part II.

The vowels of other syllables than stem-syllables;  
Consonants; Inflection.

by

**Edward Miles Brown, Ph. D.**

Professor of English in the University of Cincinnati.

---

Göttingen 1892.

Druck der Dieterich'schen Universitäts-Buchdruckerei.  
(W. Fr. Kaestner.)



The Language  
of the  
Rushworth Gloss  
to the  
Gospel of Matthew  
and the  
Mercian Dialect  
Part II.

The vowels of other syllables than stem-syllables;  
Consonants; Inflection.

by

Edward Miles Brown, Ph. D.  
Professor of English in the University of Cincinnati.

---

Göttingen 1892.

Druck der Dieterich'schen Universitäts-Buchdruckerei.  
(W. Fr. Kaestner.)

a 109  
Off Lake Wheeler  
Benjamin



## The Vowels of Medial and Final Syllables, and of Prefixes.

Here are considered the vowels of suffixes, whether old or secondary and auxiliary (svarabhakti). Inflectional syllables will be treated under the head of Inflection. Many prefixes have been already considered in Part I. The arrangement of the material is, in the main, that of Zeuner in »*Die Sprache des kentischen Psalters*«.

### Vowel-Gradation.

§ 1. In WS. the Germanic back vowel of suffixes appears most commonly as *o*, often weakened to *a* and *e* (cf. Cosijn, § 114 ff.). R' has both *u* and *o* (sometimes *e*), with the balance on the side of *u*. In Corpus Gl. *u* is in excess of *o* (cf. Dieter, p. 45). The Ritual fluctuates between *u* and *o* (cf. Lindelöf, p. 46), while the Ps. has regularly *u* (cf. Zeuner, p. 56 ff.).

a) *ur-er* (stems in *-os*, *-es*; cf. Sievers, § 288, Cosijn, II., §§ 8 and 35, 10). The only forms in R' that show *r* are these:

*æchir* (ac. pl.) 12. 1 (WS. has *ear* from \*ahur, cf. Pt. I., p. 24); this *-ir* does not appear to be original; *æ* is probably due to the following palatal; *sigor* (dat. sg.) 12. 20 and, with syncope, *cildra* 21. 16. The Ps. has *-ur* final, and *-er* before inflectional *u* (cf. Zeuner, p. 56); Rit. has *-er*, or syncope, before a back vowel, and umlaut in *lemb*, (cf. Lindelöf, p. 46).

b) *ud-ed*. R' has :

*heafud* 14. 11 etc. (8) and *-od* (5) 6. 17; 10. 30; 14. 8; 21. 42; 27. 33; *nacud* 25. 36. 43; *-ne* 25. 38 (for WS. cf. Cos. p. 127); *e* occurs only in *somed* 13. 29; *hæmed* (coitus) 15. 19; 19. 18; *hæmef* 5. 82, with syncope *hemde* 24. 38 (cf. Cos., p. 147 g); *fremðum* appears only with syncope as in the Ps. (cf. Zeuner, p. 57).

Here may be mentioned:

*iuguðe* 19. 20 with loss of *n* before *ð*, and *eorfeþe* 7. 14 from the stem *arbaidi-* (cf. Kluge, Stammb., § 131a); WS. has both *o* and *e* in this word (cf. Cos., p. 137).

c) Adjectives ending in original *-ag*, *-ig*.

The suffixes *-ag* and *-ig* (from *-íg*) appear in O. E. in the form *-ig* (oftener written *-eg* in O. WS. cf. Cos. § 120; once *-eg* in Rit., and several times *-eg*, *-ei*, *-æg* in Corp. Gl., cf. Lindelöf p. 47, Dieter p. 46). R' has regularly *-ig* (94), seldom *-eg* (7), once *yg*. The form *-eg* is found in:

*dysege* 25. 8 (but 4 *dysig* 5. 22 etc.); *monegu* 25. 21. 23 (but 30 *monige*); *monegra* 8. 30; 24. 12 (*monigra* 24. 24); *nænegum* 17. 9; *nænegu* 13. 38 (10 *nænig* 12. 19 etc.; -ne 17. 8); *scyldyg* 23. 16 (7 *scyl-dig*). In all other cases *-ig*: e. g. *hungriq*, *wælig*, *stanig*, *eadig* etc. Forms having original *-ag* show no trace of umlaut in WS., in the Ps. (cf. Zeuner, p. 57), or in R', but Rit. has forms of *monig* and *ha-lig* both with and without umlaut (cf. Lindelöf, p. 47).

d) Abstract nouns in *-nis*, *-nes* (cf. Kluge, Stammb., § 137 ff.). In O. WS. the form *-nes* appears almost without exception (cf. Sievers, § 258, Cosijn, I., pp. 134—135, II., p. 28.) In R' *-nis* prevails (139), *-nes* is found only 3 times:

*&spyrnes* 16. 23 (but *-nis* 26. 31); *gewitnesse* 18. 16 (but 5 *-nis*); *gehernesse* 13. 9 (but 4 *-nis* 11. 15 etc.). In the Ps. *-nis* is the regular ending, *-nes* occurs only 14 times (cf. Zeuner, p. 57); Rit. and Corpus have only *-nis* (cf. Lindelöf, p. 46; Dieter, p. 46); the charters have *-nis*: *gewitnisse* 48. 17. 18; *hernisse* 48. 3; the Minora have 3 *-nis*, 1 *-nes*: Bl. 6. 12; Mt. 50; CA. 7.

e) Abstract feminine nouns in *-ung*, *-ing* (cf. Kluge, Stammb., § 158 ff.). O. WS. has regularly *-ung*, occasionally *-ing* and *-eng*, once *-ong* (cf. Cos., II., p. 22 and pp. 23—25). R' has *-ung*, only 1 *-ing*, *aeldingę* 24. 48.

In the Ps. *-ing* is found side by side with the more usual *-ung*, but *-ing* alone (1 exception) in the dat. pl. (cf. Zeuner, p. 58); Rit. has *-ing* (28), *-eng* (2), usually *-ung*, but *-ing* does not occur before back vowels as in Ps. (cf. Lindelöf, pp. 47—48).

f) Masculine nouns in *-ing*, *-ling* (cf. Kluge, Stammb., §§ 22, 24 ff., 100) appear in O. WS. with *i*, sometimes *e* (cf. Cosijn, p. 141), but *cyning* has always *i* or syncope. R' has *-ing*:

*casering* 17. 24 (2); *scilling* 17. 27; -a 27. 3. 9; 26. 15; -as 27. 5. 6; *lyttingan* 19. 14; *bæcline* 4. 10; *cyning* (s. Pt. I. § 41).

g) The gradation *und* -*end*. Only -*end* occurs in R':

*þusend* (6 times, s. I. § 55); once *þusenð* 14. 21. So in O. WS., in Ps., and in Rit.

h) -*end* from -*and* appears in:

*olbend* (Got. *ulbandus*) 19. 24; -*u* 23. 24; -*ena* 3. 4.

i) Vowel-gradation before *m*. O. WS. has *o* or *e*, only once *u* (cf. Cosijn p. 139). R' has 7 *e*, 4 *i*, 2 *u*, 1 *ɛ*:

*meoduma* 10. 37; 25. 45; *wæstem* 13. 8; *wæstɪm* 3. 10; *westem* 12. 33 (2); 3. 8; 13. 22. 23. 26; *wæstɪm* 21. 19. 41. 43; *westem* 7. 19; no auxiliary vowel in other forms of this word; O. WS. has *wæstm* (cf. Cosijn, § 126).

The Ps. has *e* 3 times in *gemeodemian* (cf. Zeuner p. 59); Rit. has *o* and *u* in this word, but *wæstem* (2); *væstɪm* (4); *væstm* (2), (cf. Lindelöf, p. 48).

j) Vowel-gradation before *n*. The frequent inflectional endings (-*an*, -*on*) will be found, of course, under Inflection. Here it may be mentioned, however, that *i*-umlaut occurs once (as in the Ps., Zeuner, p. 58) in the past part. *gedōen* 28. 11; but *gedoan* 18. 31; 23. 15. Suffixes, not inflectional or adverbial endings, have *e*, *i*, *o*, and *u* before *n* in R', (for O. WS. -*on*, -*en* s. Cos. § 113 and p. 140).

-*en* appears in:

*efen* (evening) 23. 6 etc. (9); -*enne* 16. 2; 28. 1; *æfenne* 27. 57; *byrðen* 11. 30; *byrgenne* 23. 29 etc. (8); in the loan-word *cymen* 23. 23; *ciken* 23. 37 (cf. Pt. I. § 63); *dryhten* 25. 23 etc. (34); and abbreviated, *dryht* 24. 45 etc. (21);

*druncenn(m)* 24. 49; *mægdæn* (old -*in*) 9. 24. 25; 14. 11; *menen* (an-cilla) 26. 69; *morgen* 6. 34; 20. 1; 27. 1; *mærgen* 6. 30 (with umlaut, cf. Pt. I. § 37c); *seten-* 12. 4; *tacen* 16. 3. 4 etc. (10); but *tacun* 24. 3; 26. 48; *ticcen* 25. 33; *woesten* 14. 13; -*ne* 3. 1; 4. 1; *wæstenne* 11. 8; 15. 33; *wæstene* 24. 26; but once *westinne* 3. 3; *wolken* 17. 5.

-*in* occurs in:

*firina* 18. 17; -*e* 21. 31; -*æ* 21. 32; *gefrinade* 27. 4, but once *firefullra* 11. 19; see also *westinne* above.

-*on* is found in:

*nigon* 18. 12. 13; -*tig* 18. 12. 13; *wacone* 14. 25; and twice in *heofona* 23. 13; -*on(um)* 5. 45, though *u* appears regularly in this word, *heofuna* (15); -*unu* (26), and always *heofun*, -*unas* (s. Pt. I. § 17); -

-*un* also in:

: *seofun* 15. 34. 36; 18. 21. 22; *siofun* 16. 10 etc. (5); -*una* 22. 28; -*und* (ord.) 22. 26.

The Ps. has only *e* in words like these, but often *o-*, *u-* umlaut, showing an older *o*, *u* (cf. Zeuner, p. 59); Rit. has both *-on* and *-en*, often in the same word (s. Lindelöf, p. 48); Corpus has *-en*, but often *-in* (cf. Dieter, p. 46).

The adverbial ending in R' is regularly *-an*, as in WS. (cf. Cosijn, p. 125), seldom *-on*, *-en*; occasionally *n* has fallen away:

*bufan* 2. 9; *on-ufan* 21. 7; *butan* 10. 29 etc. (11); *utan* 23. 25. 27. 28; *beforan* 5. 24 etc. (21); *be-hyndan* 9. 20; *binnan* 23. 27. 26; *but binne* 23. 25; *ininnan* 9. 3; 7. 15; *innan* 3. 9; 9. 21; 21. 38; 23. 28; *but innæ* 24. 26; *heonan* 9. 24; 17. 20; *feorran* 26. 58; 27. 55; *-ne* 23. 14; *eastan* 2. 1; 8. 11; *westan* 8. 11; *þonan* 19. 15 etc. (16); *but -on* in *hwanon* 15. 33; *-an* 18. 25; 21. 25; 13. 54. 56. 27; *-en* in *þenden* 25. 10; 26. 47; but without *n*, *þende* 17. 5. 22; 9. 15; 12. 46; 26. 6. 26; *þendi* 1. 20.

Without auxiliary vowel appear:

*efn*, *aefn* (s. Pt. I. § 15 b); *frægn* 16. 13; 27. 11; *ongægn* 8. 28 etc. (6); *rægn* 7. 25; *stæfn* 17. 5; *ðægn* 20. 26; 23. 11, (so in WS. cf. Cosijn, § 126).

h) The gradation *ul-el*. WS. has both *u* and *o*, sometimes *e* (cf. Cosijn, pp. 127 and 139; § 127).

R' has *-el* (= *-il* causing umlaut) in:

(the loan-word) *engel* 2. 13; 11. 10; *foedel-* 22. 4; *oeþel* 13. 54. 57; *micel* 20. 29. etc. (16); *-e* 6. 30; *-u* 24. 21; *-ne* 27. 60 (often with syncope, s. Pt. I., p. 55); *symbol* 26. 5; 27. 15; *þyrel* 19. 24; *yfel* 5. 11 etc. (8); *-e* 15. 19; *-ne* 12. 33 (usually with syncope in obl. cas., s. Pt. I., p. 55).

*-il* once in *lytilra* 18. 10 (in other cases syncope, s. Pt. I. p. 67); only with syncope, *idla* 5. 22.

*-ul* (for *-il* causing umlaut, cf. Pog. §§ 107, 260) in *esules* 18. 6; and 3 times with u- umlaut  *eosule* 21. 5; *-a* 21. 7; *æosul* 21. 2.

*-el* not causing umlaut appears in:

*candel* 5. 15; *gæfel* 5. 46 etc. (6 times, s. Pt. I. p. 25), WS. has regularly *-ol* in this word (cf. Cosijn, p. 1,b); *-scamel* 5. 35; *seþel* 5. 34; but *sætil* 23. 6, and twice with *-ul*; *setule* 23. 2; *-as* 23. 6; *tæppel* 5. 35 (cf. *teped*, Pog., § 42); but *tæppil* 22. 44; *þecele* 25. 1 may have umlaut; in *cuidele* 5. 44 the *i* need not be due to the suffix.

*-ul* appears in:

*degullice* 1. 19; 17. 19; 20. 17; 24. 3; *-nisse* 6. 4. 6. 18; *deoful* 4. 5. 8 etc. (20); *efulsung* 12. 31; but six times *-al* in this word (s. Pt. I. § 17 a); *gestaþulad* 7. 25; *tungul-* 2. 1. 7. 16; *-scoful* 3. 12; and twice in *setule* (s. above).

Without auxiliary vowel are:

*rægl* 28. 3; *hrægl* 17. 2 etc. (11); *spaðl* 27. 30.

The Ps. has *-el* (= *-il* causing umlaut), in other cases both *-ul* and *-el* (*-ul* usually in the uninflected, *-el* in the inflected forms, cf. Zeuner p. 59); Rit. has *-el*, often *-il* (= *il*), otherwise *-ul*, *-ol*, only once *-el* (cf. Lindelöf, pp. 48, 49); the Corpus Gl. has chiefly *-el*, but often *-il* (cf. Dieter, p. 45).

1) The gradation *ur-er* (excluding *-os*, *-es* stems, s. above, § 1. a). The vowel is in part old, in part secondary or auxiliary (for O. WS. s. Cosijn, pp. 125, 139). R' has *-er*, often *-or*, *-ur*.

*-er* appears in: *after* (15); *-ere* (1); *-era* (2); (abbreviated) *aeft*- (18); *hider* (4); *bider* (2); *nifper* (9); *nider* 11. 23; *hwider* 8. 19; *oþer* (18); *-eru*; *-ere* etc. (s. Pt. I. § 11); *hwæþer* (4); *hweþer* (2); *under* (5); *ofer* (31); *cæfer-* 26. 3. 58; *-e* 26. 69; *feower* 16. 10, (cf. Cosijn, p. 128); *sumer* 24. 32; *winter* 9. 20; *suner* (grex) 8. 30. 32; *eower* (30); once *eowor* 9. 11; only *-or* in *sundor* 14. 13. 14; (abbreviated) *sund*- 17. 1; *-ur* in *elcur* 6. 1; 9. 17; *wæt(er)* appears only abbreviated or with syncope.

In the following words the vowel is secondary and appears as *o* or *u*, seldom *e*:

*aldor* (10); *aldur* (16); *swiðor* (6); *wuldor* 4. 8; 16. 27; *morþur* 15. 19; 19. 18; *wundur* 21. 15; *-lic*. 21. 42; *sylfur* 10. 9; *-er* occurs in *hunger* 24. 7; *snotter* 24. 45, other cases of this word show syncope.

The Ps. has chiefly *e* for the old, *u* for the secondary vowel (cf. Zeuner, pp. 60, 61); Rit. has *-er*, *-ir*; *-or*, *-ur*, with occasional interchange of *-ir*, *-ur* etc. (cf. Lindelöf, p. 49); Corpus has *-er*, only once *-ir* (cf. Dieter, p. 46).

m) The nouns of relationship, which in R' have *-er* throughout, will be found under Inflection.

n) The suffix *-els*, *-ils* (= *-isl*) appears in:

*gyrdels* 3. 4; 10. 9; *recils* 2. 11.

o) The second syllable of certain loan-words:

*-ic* is preserved in *cælic* (4), *calic* (1), (cf. Pt. I. p. 28 c); for *-es* in *ælmesse* 6. 3; *ælmes* 6. 4 occurs once *-is*, *ælmisse* 6. 2, (cf. Pog. § 237).

p) Other suffixes occurring in R', e. g., *-ere* (-*âri*), *-sum*, *-isc* require no special mention.

The vowels in the second member of compounds have been sufficiently treated in Pt. I.,

e. g., *-geard*, *-weard* (s. I. p. 21); *-ærn*, *-ern*, *-fæst*, *-fest* (s. I.

pp. 14. 15); *-fald* (s. I. p. 22); *-wiht* (s. I. § 25 d) wice contracted, *nohte* 5. 13; *næht* 23. 16; *-ðeow* in *lareu* etc. (s. I. § 23 b); *-bed* etc. in *wibed* (s. I. § 52).

### Prefixes.

§ 2. The following prefixes occur in R': *a-*, *ā-*, *or-*, *aet-*, *æft-*, *el-*, *of-*, *æf-*, *on-*, *ond-*, *and-*, *in-*, *un-*, *upp-*, *ut-*, *ymb-*, *be-*, *bi-*, *ge-*, *to-*, *for-*, *fore-*, *forth-*, *mis-*, *Jurh-*, *wiþ-*, *wiþer-*. Most of these have been included under the respective vowels in Pt. I.

Here it is only necessary to single out the following for special mention:

*ā-* (older *ar-*, Got. *us-*) occurs frequently as *a-* (169), but *ā-* (8); the accented form *or-* occurs once, *orsorge* 28. 14; *ā* appears in *æriste* 22. 23. 28. 30. 31.

*in-* is not common. It is found only about 15 times, chiefly in the verb *ingann* interchanging with *on-* (10 *in-*, 6 *on-*). In general *and-*, *ond-*, appears in nouns, *on-* in verbs (cf. Zeuner p. 63 g), but there are occasional exceptions, e. g., *andfoa* 11. 14; *ondfoað* 17. 25; *-fooð* 21. 21; *-fóþ* 26. 26; *-foeþ* 18. 5 (2), beside 16 forms with *on-*; and *ondfeng* 25. 16; *-on* 17. 24, but 17 forms with *on-*; on the other hand *onswarade* 21. 24. 27; 13. 11, but 7 times *and-*, 21 times *ond-*.

*un-* is written *vñ-* in 10. 26; 9. 12. *on-* has become *a-* (as in WS.) in *awæg* (8); *aweg* (2). *ge-* is never written *gi-* in R', and *to-* remains unchanged in all cases, Ps. and Corpus have *ge-*; Rit. chiefly *gi-*, also *ge-* (cf. Zeuner, p. 62. a, n. 1; Dieter, § 29; Lindelöf, § 26).

### Syncope of Middle Vowels.

The laws for the syncope of middle vowels in O.E. established by Sievers (cf. Sievers, zur Accent- und Lautlehre der germ. Spr. p. 21 ff.; also Beitr. IV and V) are observed in R' with comparatively few exceptions.

§ 3. »Every middle vowel of a trisyllabic word, when originally short, and not rendered long by position, is syncopated after a long radical syllable«. (Cook's tr. of Sievers' gr., § 144).

R' shows the following cases:

a) Before *l*:

The oblique cases of *déoful* (5), *engel* (13); *lytel* (2), *middel* (5)

*s̄dwol* (6), and the single forms; *d̄gles* 10. 26; *ewyrdlu* 16. 26; *idla* 5. 22; *þonclum* 11. 25; altogether 35 with syncope, no exceptions.

b) Before *r*:

The oblique cases of *brōþer* (7), *ceaster* (30), *éower* (33), *ðþer* (23), *snötter* (9), *ðêoster* (9), *winter* (2) and the single forms: *feowre* 24. 31; *singre* 23. 4; *næfræ* 7. 23; 26. 33; *cildra* 21. 16; *hungrig* 21. 18; *myrðra* 22. 7; *wuldre* 6. 29; *snyttro* 12. 42; *snytru* 11. 19. The exceptions noted are: *alduras* 26. 3; *alduræs* 27. 62; *oþere* 13. 5; 24. 41 (2, nom. s. f.); *oþeru* 12. 13; 24. 41 (fem. and neut. forms in -u are regularly excepted in O.E., cf. Siev. gr., § 144 b), altogether 123 cases with syncope, 7 without. Comparatives and the *r*-cases of adjectives are excepted from the enumeration, as having syncope regularly, but *middere* 25. 6 occurs.

c) Before *m*:

The obl. cases of *wæstem* (9), also *ytmæst* 22. 13; -e 8. 12; 12. 45, but without syncope the comp. *fultume* 15. 25 (cf. Zeuner, § 23. III. 4, Lindelöf p. 54).

d) Before *n*:

the obl. cases of *dryhten* (17), *wolcen* (3) and the single forms *fæmne* 1. 23; *femnan* 25. 1. 7. 11; *mærgne* 21. 18; *marne* 6. 30 (from *morgen*), but *mergenne* 16. 3; *ticnum* 25. 32 (from *ticcen*); altogether, with syncope 27, without, 1. The inflected forms of past participles from strong verbs are less regular; with syncope: *gefongnae* (ac. p.) 4. 24; *forletne* (ac. s. f.) 5. 32; (nom. p.) 9. 2; -ae (nom. pl.) 9. 5; *eknum* 24. 19; without syncope: *agene* (ac. s. n.) 27. 31; *abolgenne* (nom. p. m.) 20. 24; 21. 15; *druncennu(m)* 24. 49; *ahongenne* (nom. p. m.) 27. 38. 44; *aworpenne* (nom. p. n.) 8. 12; altogether, with syncope 5, without syn. 7.

To these must be added the ac. s. mas. of adjectives inflected strong which regularly shows syncope, e. g., *blindne*, *gecuðne* etc.

e) Before *s*:

Forms of *bletsian* (5), *geclænsian* (9), *eorsian* (2), *miltsian* (10), and the single forms: *halsio* 26. 63; *boensendu* 20. 20; *neosadun* 25. 36; *riesade* 2. 22; *geunrotsed* 14. 9; altogether 31 cases of syncope, no exception.

f) Before *d*:

The obl. cases of *heafud* do not occur in R'. Here belong the preterits and the inflected past participles of weak verbs (Class. I) which have long stems. In general these verbs have syncope; for a list of them, see under Inflection. The following exceptions occur: *abælgede* 26. 8; *bebyrgedun* 14. 12; *gecerede* 13. 15, (but *gecerde* 2. 22; 9. 22; *cerdun* 2. 12); *fylgedun* 19. 2, (but *fylgdun* 9. 27); *gleosede* 28. 20; altogether there are 182 cases of syncope, and only 5 without.

Of course the following are excepted (cf. Siev. gr., § 405. 5): *afrœfrede* 5. 4; *hyngrede* etc. (9); *wuldradun* 9. 8; *wundrade* etc. (12); *timbrade* etc. (4).

g) Before *g*:

The obl. cases of adjectives in -ig, *kræftgu* 2. 1; *kraftgu(m)* 2. 7. 16; *ængum* 18, 19; 22. 16; *nængum* 8. 4; 16. 20; but *ænigum* 19. 3; *nænegum* 17. 9; (*nænegu* 13. 38 is excepted as neut. pl. in -u); *halgu(m)* 12. 32; *eadige* 13. 16; *stanige* 13. 20; forms of the weak vb. *hå/gian* (8), and *syngige* 18. 15 show syncope, but *scyldigat* 6. 12; altogether, the ratio is 17:6.

h) Before *t*:

Only *emetig* 12. 44 (= *d̄emetig*, Kluge, wb.).

§ 4. »A vowel long by position is usually protected against the operation of syncope«. (Cook's tr. of Sievers' gr., § 145). R' regularly preserves the vowel except in the superlative of *nēah* (the only other exceptions noted are *hæþne*, *riftra*, -um, *mynetræ*):

e. g., *haligra* 27. 52; *lytilra* 18. 10; (*lytlera* 18. 6, with metath.); *men-nisce* 12. 41; *nænigne* 17. 8; *æreste* 23. 6 etc. (8); *wyrresta* 12. 45, but *nehsta* 21. 37; *nehstum* 19. 19 etc. (12). The superlative of *hēah* does not occur. So likewise *æftere* (= -erra) 22. 39; -a 21. 31; 27. 64; *ytterre* 25. 30; -æ 22. 13; *wundurlic* 21. 42; *degullice* (4); *byrgenne* (13); *woestenne* 3. 1; 4. 1; *æfenne* 27. 57; *efenne* 28. 1; 16. 2; *westinne* 3. 3; *wēstene* 24. 26 etc. (6); *hæðenna* 18. 17; *hæðene* 6. 7, but *hæþne* 23. 15 with syncope; verbs in -ettan, *bilketto* 13. 35; *roketto* 13. 35. The mas. suffix -ere has a long vowel (cf. Kluge, -arja bildungen, Stammb. §§ 8, 9) which is regularly preserved, e. g., *fisceras*, *leornere* etc., but *riftra* 13. 39; -um 13. 30; *mynetræ* 21. 12 (cf. *myneterum* 25. 27).

Present participles in -ende preserve e, except in contract verbs, *geseonde* 8. 18 etc.

§ 5. »After a short radical syllable this syncopation does not take place«. (Cook's tr. of Sievers' gr., § 144 a).

R' has the following cases:

a) Before *l*:

*cuidele* 5. 44; *gegærelum* 27. 28; *gestapulad* 7. 25; *ðecele* 25. 1; and the loan-word *esules* 18. 6; *eosule* 21. 5; -a 21. 7; *micel* and *yfel* regularly show syncope as in WS. *micel* has 21 forms with syncope, 3 without: *micele* 6. 30; -u 24. 21; 28. 2 (the u- forms follow the general rule for long stems, cf. Siev. § 144 c.); *yfel* has 24 forms with syncope, and but 1 without: *yfele* 15. 19; in *yfeline* 12. 33, *mi-celine* 27. 60 the vowel is long by position, but *weorlde* 12. 32 occurs once (*weorulde* seven times).

b) Before *r*:

Without syncope only *weleru(m)* 15. 8; with syncope: *aetgædre* 14. 9; *hwæþre* 26. 64; *hwærpre* 18. 7 etc. (6); the comparatives *bettra* 12. 12; 10. 31; *swipre* 6. 3 etc. (13); the weak verbs *niðrað* 12. 42; *niðrigað* 12. 41; *niðrad* 12. 37; 27. 3; *niðrade* 12. 7 (this vb. always without syncope in Ps., cf. Zeuner, p. 68); *gogradre* 19. 6.

c) Before *m*:

*meoduma* 10. 37; 25. 45.

d) Before *n*:

*heofunas* 10. 7 ete. (81); *mægene* 25. 15; *mægænes* 26. 64, but *togægnes* 27. 61 (cf. Siev. zur Accent etc., p. 37); *wacone* 14. 25; *firina* 18. 17; -*æ* 21. 32; -*e* 21. 31; *gefiranade* 27. 4, but *firnige* 18. 15; *sio-funa* 22. 28.

The past participles of strong verbs having short stems: *gecorænæ* 22. 14; *gecorenan* 24. 24; -*um* 24. 22. 31; *ucwædene* 26. 30; *forlegene* 12. 39; 16. 4; *ofslægenē* 22. 4; *unðwegenu(m)* 15. 20; *gewitenæ* 2. 13; *awritene* 27. 37; *gewrigene* 6. 31; *bewrigenes* 10. 26; once syncope, *agefnæ* 18. 25.

e) Before *s*:

*ægsa* 14. 26; 28. 4; *egsa* 28. 8; *axe* 3. 10 (\**acusi*, cf. Siev. § 50, n. 2).

f) Before *ð*:

*iuguðe* (s. § 1, b) 19. 20; *nigopan* 20. 5; 27. 45. 46; *waraðe* 13. 2. 48; but *fremðum* 17. 25. 26 (as in P., cf. Zeuner, p. 68 f.).

g) Before *d*:

The preterits and past participles of weak verbs (Class I) having short stems. R' has: *byrede* 12. 4; *styredun* 27. 39; *afenede* 12. 13; 14. 31; but with syncope, as in WS., *alægde* 27. 60; -*uu* 15. 30; *gesette* 13. 24 etc. (14); in *nacudne* 25. 38 the vowel is in position. No other cases are noted.

h) Before *g*:

There is less regularity; the obl. cases of the adj. *monig* (34) are without syncope, but *mongum* 23. 1; 26. 28; *mongu(m)* 10. 31; 20. 28; (in *monegra* 8. 30; 24. 12: monigra 24. 24 the vowel has position); in the sb. *mænigu* 21. 36; *menigu* 9. 23 etc. (6), but *mængu* 21. 46 etc. (5); *mengu* 22. 33 etc. (27); *hæfige* 23. 4, but *ahæfgad* 26. 43 (and with position, *hæfigra* 23. 23; *hefiglice* 13. 15); *dysige* 25. 2. 3; *dysege* 25. 8; *huniges* 3. 4; *weliga* 19. 23, but *welgan* 19. 24; *myngað* 16. 9; *gemyngad* 2. 22. Altogether 47 cases without, 40 with syncope.

i) Before *t*:

Only the foreign word *myneterum* 25. 27; *mynetræ* 21. 12 in which the vowel is shortened from original ē (= i, cf. Pog. § 207. 2).

§ 6. An »irrational« auxiliary vowel sometimes occurs in oblique cases after the analogy of uninflected forms, (cf. Siev. gr. § 148). This is not very frequent in R'.

a) Before *l*:

*setulas* 23. 6; *setule* 23. 2, but *settlas* 21. 12; *-settle* 27. 19; *sedle* 25. 31; 19. 28; 23. 22; *-um* 19. 28; and always *fuglas*, *gæfle*, *-es*, *hrægle*, *nægled* etc.

b) Before *r*:

*fæderes* 21. 31; *fædera* 23. 32, but *fædra* 23. 30; *pissere* 21. 21; otherwise regularly *swegre* 10. 35; *feþran* 23. 37; *acras* 12. 1; *wættre* 3. 11 etc. (5).

c) Before *n*:

Always without vowel, e.g., *stæfne* 24. 31 etc. (3); *þægnas* 5. 1; *-um* 14. 2 etc. (13 forms); *regnēþ* 5. 45; *æfne* 5. 47; *efne* 10. 42 etc. (5); etc.

d) Before *g*:

Only *beligas* 9. 17 (2); but *belgas* 9. 17 (2).

The cases where a vowel is introduced before *-jo*, *-wo*, etc. may be found under Inflection (cf. Siev., § 246, n. 2; § 249, n. 1. etc.).

§ 7. »When the same word contained two middle vowels, . . . the second is always syncopated without regard to the quantity of the radical syllable« etc. (Cook's tr. of Sievers' gr., § 147). R' observes this rule regularly. Examples are: *micelne* 27. 60; *haligra* 27. 52; *monegra* 24. 12; etc.

Detailed comparison of other texts in the matter of syncope is, perhaps, hardly necessary. In general R' seems to adhere even more closely to the rules than the Ps., and agrees pretty well with Rit. (cf. Zeuner, pp. 65—70; Lindelöf, § 27).

## The Consonants<sup>1</sup>).

### I. Sonorous Consonants.

#### The semi-vowels.

§ 8. The semi-vowel *w*. For the Runic *wēn* of the MS. Skeat has substituted *w* throughout (edition of 1887).

In a few cases (42) *u* is written for initial *w*:

ulfum 10. 16 (North. has ulf, uldor with loss of *w*, cf. Bout. glos.); uitgana 23. 30; geuitað 17. 20; fulluihte 3. 7; after another consonant: huat 16. 13; sua 5. 16; andsuari 2. 12; thuað 15. 2; unaduescendlice 3. 12; cuidele 5. 44; quartern 25. 39; and 29 times eu-, twice qu-, in the pret. of the vb. cuman (but 41 cw-, 11 c-, with loss of *w*, s. I. § 47). WS. has quite often *u* for *w* after an initial cons. (cf. Cosijn, § 147).

Only once is *uu* found for *w*: uiltu 26. 17.

a) Initial *w* in R' occurs:

a) Before all vowels, as in WS. (cf. Siev. gr., § 172):

e. g., wæs 2. 1; wearp 21. 12; warð 9. 22; wesa 3. 14; weora 14. 21; wile 16. 25; wyrse 9. 16; worhte 13. 58; wuldor 4. 8, etc.

Contrary to WS. usage *w* exerts a certain influence in preventing the »breaking« of *a*, and in modifying *e* before r + cons. into *ea*, *æ*, (s. I. p. 80, and §§ 5, 6, 13, 19). Other cases of *w*-influence are:

---

1) The effect of certain consonants in R' upon preceding or following vowels has been exhibited in Pt. I. Here it will be sufficient to note the general usage of the text and point out such exceptions to WS. custom as have either not been already mentioned, or not been made prominent enough. Reference will be made to other dialects, but a detailed comparison, such as was given in Pt. I., will here be impracticable.

woestim 3. 10; awoerpeþ 12. 24; worðum 12. 19; wutan 22. 16 etc. (5); wyrðe 10. 10 etc. (13); wyrse 9. 16 etc. (3), (cf. I., pp. 14, 36, 42, 48).

Initial *w* is lost only in compounds with *ne*:

e. g., nyle 10. 14; nellap 23. 8; nolde 27. 34; nyte 6. 3; niton 21. 27, etc. (cf. I., pp. 42, 44, 50). *w* is regularly preserved in nauhiht 18. 32 etc. (4); nauhiht (with inorganic *u* before *w*) 17. 20 etc. (5), except twice: nohte 5. 13; næht 23. 16. In this compound *w* is treated as medial (s. below b, α).

β) Before the consonants l and r *w* is preserved:

e. g., wlitige 23. 27; andwlitu 18. 10 etc.; awritten 4. 4 etc.; gewrigene 6. 31, etc., etc.

γ) In the combinations cw, hw, dw, ðw, tw, sw:

e. g., cwæþ 2. 8; hwæs 6. 8; dwaligað 22. 29; þwah 6. 17; betwih 18. 15; swælce 18. 5, etc.

Influence of *w* on the following vowel is seen in:

swuster 12. 50; 19. 29 (but cf. swæster 13. 56).

*w* is lost only in:

hu 7. 14 etc. (32); tu 9. 28; 25. 32; in the pres. of the vb. cuman (common to all dialects), and sometimes in the pret. of the same vb., com, -un etc. (s. above and I., §§ 36, 47).

b) Medial and final *w*.

α) After vowels. After ā (= ai) *w* appears as *u* always in:

sawle 10. 28 etc.; -um 11. 29, (WS. has usually *w*, cf. Siev. gr. § 174. 3), also, when final, in snau 17. 2; 28. 3, introduced by analogy, cf. Siev. gr., § 174, n. 1); blau (imp.) 6. 2.

But is preserved medially in:

gecnawan 16. 3; sawen 13. 19 etc. (5), and (with inorganic *u*, indicating vocalization, as in nauhiht, s. above) sauweþ 13. 37; gesauwen 13. 20. 22. 23 (cf. I. p. 68). In these verbs *w* is inorganic. According to Lindelöf (p. 59 α) *w* is »einfach als hiatustilgender Consonant eingeschoben«; cf. also the explanation of Cosijn, (gr., I. p. 198).

*w* is lost in all forms of the nouns:

æ, (ae) 23. 23 etc.; sæ, sæe, saes, 4. 13; 13. 1 etc. (s. I. pp. 69, 70); wea 6. 34 (cf. Siev., § 118. n. 1).

After ð *w* appears in:

stowe 12. 43 etc. (once final with inorganic *u*, stouw 27. 33); pruwige 26. 33 etc.

After *ēa* (= Wg. *au*) *w* is preserved in:

eawan 16. 21; -ep 23. 27 etc. (16); twice with *u* for *w*, eaude 2. 19; 16. 1; heawan 14. 2; sceawigaþ 6. 28; -enne 28. 1; gescawað 5. 8 (s. I., p. 73).

The combination Wg. *aw* becomes *ēaw* (as in WS. in: feawe 7. 14 etc.; -um 25. 23 etc.; but *w* ist lost in edæs 26. 31 (s. I. § 9, and cf. Lindelöf, p. 43)).

Wg. *āw* (= WS. *ēa*, *ēaw*) appears as *eu* in:  
stren 7. 3. 4. 5 (s. I., § 46).

In place of WS. *w* in the pret. ind. pl. and pret. opt. of the vb. sēon R' has always *g* (s. I. p. 57); in the perf. part contraction regularly occurs (s. I. p. 40). *g* for *w* appears also in higu 10. 36 (= hīwan).

But *w* is lost or vocalized in the comp. heorod 24. 45; heoredes 13. 27.

After *ēo* (= Wg. *eu*) *w* is preserved:  
e. g., eow 6. 8 etc.; eowic 10. 19 etc.; hreownisse 21. 30 etc.; getreowe 9. 2 etc. (s. I. § 62).

Occasionally there is simplification of *eow* to *ew*, *iu*, *eu*, (*euw*), as in North. (cf. Siev., § 156. 5; in Rit. this is the rule, cf. Lindelöf, p. 60; cf. also Zeuner, p. 122):

iu (vobis) 5. 32; ewer 7. 11; hrewnisse 4. 17; hreunisse 3. 2; getrewe 24. 45.

*euw* is found in:

hrewnisse 11. 20. -e 21; ge- 21. 32; reuwe 18. 10; getreuwe 9. 22

After *ēo* of the pret. in redup. verbs:

heow 26. 51, but -heu 27. 60; speou 27. 24.

*ēow* developed from Wg. *ew*, *iw*, is found in:

treowes 3. 10; 21. 34; -um 21. 8; peowæ 26. 69 etc.; feower 16. 10 etc.; neowe 13. 52 etc. (cf. I., §§ 23, 31); also by analogy in nom. and acc. sg., treow 3. 10 etc. (9); only once treo (dat.) 24. 32; ðeow (dat.) 8. 9; *w* is lost by syncope in wintreos 26. 29; also in feorþe 14. 25; -an 5. 26; but feowertig 4. 2 (cf. Siev. gr., § 328).

Vocalization occurs in:

kneu (ac. sg.) 27. 29; cneu (ac. pl.?) 17. 14;

Simplification in:

ðewige 4. 10.

*euw* appears in:

treuw 12. 33; -ðeuw 18. 29. 33; -e 18. 31 etc.

In the second part of compounds simplification and contraction is the rule:

e. g., lareu, latewas etc. (full list of examples, I., § 23 b). In Rit. *w* is always lost in these *wo-* stems (cf. Lindelöf, p. 61).

I fail to find in R' the forms cnéo, cnéom, tree, tréona cited by Sievers (s. gr., § 250. 2).

*β) After consonants.* R' has *w* after consonants in the following words:

arwunga 10. 8 etc.; bearwes 21. 1; 24. 3; 26. 30; gearwe (nom. p. m.) 24. 44; 25. 10; iarwan 26. 17 etc. (14 forms); gearwunga 27. 62; naarwe 7. 13; spearwas 10. 29 etc., (s. I. pp. 20, 21); herweþ 6. 24; merwe 24. 32; melwæs 13. 33; frētwæþ 23. 29; fretwan 25. 7; ge-frētwad 12. 44; but widuwana 23. 14, as in WS. (cf. Siev., § 156. 4) instead of *widw-* (cf. Zeuner, p. 74; Lindelöf, p. 61).

*w* is lost in the following:

gegeradne 22. 11; ungeredun 27. 31; gegærelum 27. 28 (cf. Co-sijn I. p. 197); smere 6. 17; -nisse 26. 12 etc.; bismere 20. 19 etc. (s. I. p. 36); wælede 27. 60; 28. 2; scade (dat.) 4. 16 (cf. Siev., § 260).

Vocalization of final *w* takes place in:

gearo (nom. s.) 26. 41; iare (nom. s.) 22. 8; iara (nom. p. n.) 22. 4; naru (nom. s. n.) 7. 14.

For the influence of *w*, or cons. + *w*, on preceding vowels in certain cases s. I., p. 80, and §§ 5, 13, 43 etc.

### § 9. The semi-vowel *j* (*g*).

a) Initial *j* appears in R' as *g* in:

ge (vos) 12. 7 etc. (67); ge (conj.) 12. 8. 50; 10. 28; 13. 12; gæ (adv.) 17. 25; gif 16. 24 etc. (59); gef 28. 14; perhaps in the advs. gen 19. 20; get 24. 6; 27. 63; -a 15. 16; 18. 16; 24. 24 (cf. Academy, Dec. 19. 1891; Mod. Lang. Notes, April and May 1892); with palatal influence on the following back vowel in: geond 4. 23 etc. (7); begeonda 4. 25.

In other cases, with two exceptions, it appears as *i*:

iu- 5. 21, (but gû- 5. 27. 33); iungæ 19. 20; -e 19. 22; iuguðe 19. 20 (cf. I. § 38 e); ioc 11. 29; loc 11. 30; Iara (olim) 11. 21. This lack of pal. infl. seems to be a special characteristic of Mercian.

Of course *i*, *I*, occurs regularly in proper names of foreign origin:

iacob 8. 11 etc. jesus 4. 7 etc.; iohannes 9. 14 etc.; ionas 12. 41 etc.; iordane 4. 15 etc.: iudas 27. 3 etc.; indeum 28. 15 etc.; Ioseph 1. 19 etc.

b) Medial and final *j*. Medial *j* is preserved (as *i*, *g*, *ig*) in OE. only after short stems ending in *r*, and after stems ending in a vowel. R' has *g* (5 *ig*) in the following forms:

After *r*:

*ferganne* 5. 41; *hergas* 22. 7; *herigas* 26. 53; *styrgan* 23. 4; *swerigæ* (opt. s.) 5. 36; -*e* (inf.) 26. 74; *swerge* (opt. p.) 5. 34.

After *f* in the dialect forms (cf. Siev. § 416 n. 2):

*lifgap* 4. 4; *lifgende* 26. 63 (2); -*a* 16. 16; -*ra* 22. 32 (cf. Zeuner, p. 75).

After vowels in:

*cegan* 22. 3; *cegende* 8. 29; *ceigde* 20. 25; *cegde* 14. 30 etc., (s. I. § 61); *fiegap* 24. 10; *fiegæ* 5. 44; *gesfreoge* 27. 43. 49; *ðreiga* (inf.) 16. 22 (cf. I. p. 75).

But before *i* germ. *j* is lost, hence in pres. ind. 3 sg.: *fiað* 6. 24; *swærarþ* 23. 18; *sweraþ* 23. 16 etc. (8 forms); *leofaþ* 9. 18; but *cægeþ* 15. 23 preserves *j*.

Final *j* appears only in:

*hōeg* 6. 30; 14. 19.

For the vocalic *i*, *ig* of weak verbs (Cl. II.) see Inflection.

### The Liquids.

*r*, *l*.

§ 10. In R', as in WS., *r* occurs as an initial, medial and final consonant, also geminated and in combination with other consonants:

e. g., *reht* 20. 4; *lore* 5. 29; *bær* 8. 17; *eorra* 18. 34; *feorr* 15. 8; *bryde* 25. 1; *dryge* 12. 43; *gegripa* 21. 35; *hræpe* 5. 25; *treow* 3. 10; *ðrymme* 24. 30; *awritten* 4. 4 etc.; *geard* 21. 33; *pær* 9. 12; *eorþe* 6. 10, etc.

*r* is lost only in:

*foletende* (= *for-*) 4. 20, (often lost in prefix *for-* in WS., cf. Cosijn, § 143).

The vb. *sprecan* 12. 34 etc. always preserves *r* (26 forms), as in Ps. and Rit. (cf. Zeuner § 30; Lindelöf p. 90), but in Kent *r* is early lost in this word (cf. Zupit. Kt. gl., p. 12); occasionally in WS. (cf. Siev. § 180), but not in OWS. (cf. Cosijn, II., § 94. 6).

Rarely inorganic *r* is introduced by anticipation or analogy: *geþriosta* 27. 45, but *peostra* 25. 30 etc. (7); *Iarward* (= *gearwad*) 20. 23; *ge-* 25. 41.

Substitution of *l* for *r* takes place (by dissimilation) in :  
blopræ 1. 2; of *r* for *n* in forlegernisse (= -ennisse) 19. 9.

Metathesis of *r* occurs in R' not only when *r* precedes a vowel followed by *nn* or *s* + cons., as in WS., but also sometimes in the converse direction before *ht*, as in North. (cf. Siev. § 179):

a) Before *nn*: *arn* 27. 48; *urnon* 8. 28; -*en* 8. 24; *eornende* 28. 8; *beornende* 13. 42; *beornane* 13. 30; *beornað* 5. 15; *forbernde* 22. 7; -*ærn* (in *carkærn*, *berern* etc.) 25. 36 etc. (cf. I., p. 14), once *carcrænnæ* 25. 44;

b) Before *s* + cons.: *toberst* 27. 51; -*ep* 9. 17; but *brustæn* 27. 51; (*græs-* 3. 4 before single *s*; WS. *gær*s, cf. Cosijn I. p. 7; Siev. § 79. n. 2).

Metath. occurs before *g* in: *tinterga* 8. 29 (cf. Cosijn I. p. 45).

In *ðefra* (= *ðerfa*) 26. 17 metath. may be due to the influence of the familiar comb. *fr*.

c) Before *ht*: *frohtade* 14. 30; -*un* 27. 54: *frohtende* 25. 25; but *forhtige* 28. 5; -*ap* 10. 31; *forhtaþ* 14. 27.

d) In *weleru(m)* 15. 8 (got. *wairilo*) there is metath. of another kind, i. e., exchange of place between *r* and *l* (cf. Paul, Princ. d. Sprachg., 2d ed., p. 59).

Medial *r* in OE. often corresponds to Germ. *z* (cf. Siev., § 181. 2). R' has:

e. g., *eare* 10. 27; *geheran* 13. 15; *forloren* 15. 24; *reord* 26. 73; *mara* 12. 6, etc.

Geminaton of medial *r* occurs in:

*cerrap* 24. 18; *cerre* 10. 13; *cerrede* (by anal. of short stems) 13. 15, but (with simplification) *cerde* 2. 22 etc. (3); *feorran* 26. 58; 27. 55; -*ne* 23. 14; *afirred* 9. 15 etc. (3); *afyrred* 25. 29; *fearras* 22. 4; *steorra* 2. 2. 7. 9; -*an* 2. 10; 24. 29; *eorra* (*rr* = *rz*) 18. 34; -*e* 2. 16 etc. (3); *wyrresta* (by assimilation); and the comparatives: *aerran* (= *rz*) 27. 64; *erran* 12. 45; *diorre* 6. 26; *nærra* 21. 31; *ytterre* 25. 30; -*æ* 22. 18; with single *r*, only *aeftera* 21. 31.

Geminaton of final *r* is simplified in:

*unfeor* 8. 30; but *feorr* 15. 8; *gecer* 26. 52; *rr* is preserved in *torr* 21. 33.

The »breaking« of *a*, *e* before *r* + cons. is the rule in R'. For exceptions see I., §§ 5, 13, 19.

§ 11. *l* occurs in R' in all positions:

e. g., *loc* 5. 36; *scule* 6. 7; *elne* 6. 27; *áld* 9. 16; *hæl* 14. 30

etc.; also geminated and in cons. combinations: e. g., helle 5. 22; eall 1. 22 etc.; blæcne 5. 36; clæne 5. 8; floð 24. 39; hleonede 26. 20; pleagade 14. 6; slep 25. 5; wlitige 23. 27 etc.

Methathesis of *l* occurs in:

gyrdels (= isl) 3. 4; 10. 9; recils 2. 11 (cf. also II §. 10 d).

Inorganic *l* occurs by anticipation in:

fluglas (= fuglas) 13. 32.

Final vocalic *l* appears in:

rægl 28. 3; hrægl 17. 2 etc. (12); spaðl 27. 30; templ 12. 5. 6; 27. 5. 40; in other cases a vowel is developed, e. g., sætil 23. 6 (cf. II, § 1. k.).

Gemination of medial *l* occurs, of course, before Germ. *j* which is then lost,

e. g., elles 6. 1; helle 11. 23; sellap 5. 34, etc.

Older gemination appears in:

ealle 2. 3 etc.; gallan 27. 34; stalle 6. 5; fallen 15. 14 etc. (18 forms); fallen (skin) 3. 4; godspelles 4. 23 etc.; scilling 17. 27 etc.; fulle 14. 20 etc.; gefylled 12. 17, etc.; *ll* for *l* by anal. with other forms is found in the pres. ind. 3 sg. of sellan, e. g., sellep 7. 11 etc. (8), see inflections.

Before a consonant simplification of *ll* to *l* usually takes place (cf. Cosijn § 139):

e. g., alra 6. 32 etc.; fulne 10. 42; synfulra 26. 45; fultume 15. 25; but *ll* remains in:

fullra 11. 19; fullwiht (as comp.) 21. 25; gefyldæst 21. 16 (but fyldæst 15. 37; 27. 48); fyllnisse 9. 16.

Final *ll* is preserved in:

eall, all (52); gefeoll 7. 25. 27; bispell 21. 33 etc. (8); godspell 24. 14; but *godspel* 26. 13; WS. has often *l* for final *ll* (cf. Cosijn, I. p. 185 ff.).

Breaking of *a* before *l* + cons. is not the rule in R'.

The ratio of *a* to *ea* is 12: 5 (cf. I, § 6).

### The Nasals.

#### *m, n.*

§ 12. The labial nasal *m* occurs in all positions in R', as in WS.:

e. g., mon 9. 16; sumer 24. 32; cwom 4. 13 etc.; also medially in the combs. *mp*, *mb* and before *n*: e. g., gelamp 11. 1; cempa 8. 9; wombe 12. 40 etc.; to-somne 10. 1.

*mn* for *fn* occurs in:

stemn 3. 3. 17; 12. 19, but stæfn 17. 5 etc. (5), s. I. p. 31.

*m* is lost before *f* in:

fif 16. 9 etc. (cf. Siev. § 186).

Gemination of *m* before Germ. *j* appears in:

fremme 19. 18 etc.; prymmes 25. 31 etc.

Older Gemination in:

grimme 8. 28; hwommes 21. 42; -um 6. 5.

Final *mm* is not found; final *m* is preserved in the 1 sg. pres. ind.:

beom 9. 21 etc. (3); dom 19. 16; 27. 22; gedom 4. 19 (so Ps. and Rit., cf. Zeuner p. 92; Lindelöf p. 101);

but lost in:

do 20. 13; 21. 24; also in prep. fro 27. 51 (cf. I. § 4), probably only by omission of the abbreviation for *m*, common in the MS.

*n* for final *m* (cf. Siev. § 187) occurs in:

æl-, eldran 26. 47; 27. 12;

*m* for final *n* by mistake in:

gebohtum (pret. pl.) 27. 9.

§ 13. *n* is the dental and also the guttural and palatal nasal in OE. As dental nasal it is common in all positions in R':

e. g., nyte 7. 16; noma 1. 21; tune 26. 6; con 11. 27, etc. and in cons. combinations: cneht 2. 9; snottre 25. 2; gebond 14. 3 etc.

As guttural and palatal nasal before *c*, *g*:

e. g., þencende 5. 25; sincan 14. 30; longe 25. 40; þinge 5. 32; breng 8. 4.

Gemination of *n* before Germ. *j*:

e. g., henne 23. 37; cynne 13. 47; synne 9. 5 etc.

Older gemination:

monnes 20. 18; onginnap 24. 49; -panne- 27. 33; spinnap 6. 28; winnap 6. 28; innan 23. 28; binnan 23. 26; innope 1. 18. 23; hwanne (adv.) 13. 15 etc. and by syncope: minne 8. 8; þinne 5. 40 etc.

Gemination is unjustifiable in:

neowenne (adv.) 9. 16; þonne (ac. s. m.) 17. 27.

Simplification of *nn* to *n* takes place often in the inflec. infin. (cf. Siev. § 363):

breccane 5. 17; cwepane 9. 5; bismerene 20. 19; sellane 22. 17;

healdene 16. 12; 28. 20; beornane 13. 30; cumene 24. 48; niomane 15. 33; nimene 24. 18.

Occasionally in other forms:

gebundene (ac. s. m.) 27. 2; wéstene 24. 26 (but 5 *nn*, s. I. § 54); hæðene 6. 7; smirenisse (*smer-*) 26. 7. 12, (*smerennis* 2. 11); forlegenisse 19. 9; -læg- 21. 32; -legnisse 21. 31; cunun 20. 25 (but 7 *nn*); pone (conj.) 27. 64.

Final *nn* is sometimes simplified, but is often preserved:

conn 26. 72 (3 times con); -gonn 11. 20 etc. (3); -ganu 4. 17 (5 -gon, -gan); monn 20. 1 etc. (31), but mon (7); menn 12. 13 etc. (21); inn (adv.) 7. 13; 22, 11. 12; 23. 13; blan 14. 32; of course arn 27. 48.

Final *n* is often lost, as in North. (cf. Siev., §. 188; Lindelöf, § 33) in:

Nouns and adjectives inflected weak (about 245); infinitives (38); opt. pl., pres. and. pret. (49, ten in vb. *sie*; for examples s. Inflection); perf. part. (3); ge-, un-bunde 16. 19; lore 5. 30; pret. ind. pl. (2): æt-eawde 18. 26; reordade 19. 4; adverbs in -*an* (6): binne 23. 25; innæ 24. 26; beniuþa 2. 16; þende 17. 5. 22; -i 1. 20, the numeral twege 5. 41; 18. 20, (28 times -*en*).

On the other hand inorganic final *n* occurs rarely (4) by anal. in the nom. sg. of weak nouns:

cuman 25. 43; egan 20. 15; eagan 18. 9; lichoman 26. 26 (but 6 lichoma).

Inorganic *n* is introduced,

by anticipation in: *constungae* 6. 13 (cf. *costunge* 26. 41); by influence of pres. part. in *fylgendun* (pret. pl.) 4. 25; by influence of onettan in *onrettæ* 22. 6.

*n* is lost in:

asægdnisse 9. 13 (cf. aweg 16. 4 etc.); by error of scribe in wi-dende 27. 29 (= wind-).

Before spirants, ð, s (cf. Siev., § 185) in:

sop 3. 9 etc.; tóp 5. 38 etc.; oper 2. 12 etc.; swiðor 12. 12 etc.; cuðe 26. 74 etc.; muð 12. 34 etc.; supan 12. 42; yþum 14. 24 etc.; us 6. 11 etc.

For the effect of *m* and *n* on preceding vowels s. I. §§ 4, 12, 26, 36, 47.

## 2. Non-sonorous Consonants.

### Labials.

#### § 14. The surd labial stop *p*.

Initial *p* is rare in words of Germ. origin, except in the comb. *sp*.

R' has *p* in:

panne 27. 33; plagadun 11. 17; pleagade 14. 6; *sp* in: sprec 14. 27 etc.; -spell 11. 5 etc.; spittende 27. 30 etc., etc.

Words of foreign origin:

punde 10. 29; preoste 8. 4; pytt 12. 11; proper names: petrus 4. 18; pilatus 27. 58 etc.; *p* seems to stand for *b* in prod-, prot-bore 11. 16; 20. 3 (of ON. or Ocel. origin, cf. Oxford Dic., *Brod*).

Medial and final *p* is more common:

e. g., ripes 25. 24; stopen 28. 9; wurpon 21. 39; gelimpeþ 18. 13; tempel 21. 12; slep 25. 5; wôp 8. 12; gelamp 19. 1 etc., etc.

In foreign proper names *p* sometimes stands for Lat. *ph*;

e. g., iosep 2. 13 etc. (6); -e 1. 16.

Gemination occurs only in:

græs-hoppa 3. 4; steppan (passus) 5. 41 (by anal. with vb. steppan; WS. has stæpas etc., cf. Cosijn, I. p. 25); and the foreign word tæppel 5. 35; -il 22. 44 (for tæpped, cf. Pog., § 73).

Final *pp* appears in:

upp 4. 16; 13. 5. 6: (prefix) 5. 45; 13. 48; 17. 27; up- 22. 23.

#### § 15. The sonant labial stop *b*.

Initial *b* is common in R', as in WS.:

e. g., beldu 14. 27; borg 5. 42; beorma 13. 33 etc.; brord 13. 26; blind 15. 14 etc.

Medial and final *b* occurs geminated and in the comb. *mb*:

e. g., hebbende 17. 8: habbaþ 14. 27 etc. (47 forms); once *b* for *bb*, hæbende 4. 24; sibb 10. 12 etc.; wombe 12. 40; 15. 17; adumbede 22. 12; symbol 26. 5; 27. 15; getimbru 24. 1 etc.; dumb 9. 32 etc.; ymb 3. 4 etc.

*f* regularly stands for single medial or final *b* in OE. R' has:

e. g., hæfep 9. 6 etc.; ahofan 17. 8; deoful 4. 8 etc.; but also lifgap 4. 4 etc. (5 forms) for WS. libbaþ (cf. Cosijn. II. p. 193).

Older *b* is preserved in:

olbend (got. ulbandus) 19. 24; -u 23. 24; -ena 3. 4 (WS. olfend, cf. Cosijn, I. p. 70).

*b*, originally initial (cf. Siev., § 43 n. 4), is preserved:

in the comp. wibed 5. 24 etc. (5 forms), but with *f*: weofud 5. 23 etc. (3) s. I., § 52.

Proper names follow the Latin spelling:

e. g., abeles 23. 35; iacobus 10. 2 etc., but sometimes simplify *bb* to *b*, e. g. barrabas 27. 16. 17.

With the exception of prot-bore etc. (s. §. 14) initial and final *b* seems to be stable.

§ 16. *f* stands for the surd and for the sonant labiodental spirant in OE. (cf. Siev., § 192).

Initial *f* (surd) is common. R. has:

e. g., folc 4. 16; finde 18. 13 etc.; fleop 10. 23; freo 17. 26 etc.

Medial *f* is a surd in the comb. *ft*:

æfter 17. 1 etc. kreftgu(m) 2. 16 etc.;

and »originally« when medial or final *f* corresponds to Germ. *f*:

e. g., wulfas 7. 15; ðearf 21. 3; fif 16. 9 etc.

In other cases *f* is a spirant in R' in Germ. words:

e. g., ofer 5. 45 etc.; hlafa 16. 12 etc.; næfre 12. 7; yfle 15. 22; efulsung 12. 31 etc.: hlaf 26. 26; bedælf 25. 18 etc.

*mn* for *fn* occurs in stemn (s. § 12).

*u* = *f* spirant is found in:

wiue 1. 24 (but wife 19. 5 etc., 9 forms); always (= v cons.) in the proper name dauið 12. 3 etc. (15); and in uiperana 23. 33.

*f* = Lat. *ph* occurs in proper names:

iosefae 1. 18 (oftener p, s. § 14); filippes (Lat. pilippi) 16. 13; in other cases following the spelling of the Latin text: e. g., alfees 10. 3; caifan 26. 57; fariseas 16. 1 etc. (28).

*ph* = Lat. *ph* also occurs:

philippus 10. 3; -es 14. 3; capharnaum 17. 24 (the Lat. has caf-).

For the effect of *f* on preceding or following vowels s. I. p. 80, and §§ 13, 20, 25, 27.

§ 17. *t*, the surd dental stop, is common in all positions in OE. (cf. Siev., § 195). R' has:

e. g., tacen 16. 3; witan 24. 32; gemot 26. 59; treow 7. 17; twæm 2. 16; stondeþ 12. 26; eft 18. 19; næht 28. 13 etc., etc.

Gemination occurs:

e. g., sceatta (cf. got. skatts) 25. 27; mittum 13. 33 etc.; nyttē 20. 3; spittadun 26. 67 etc.

Usually before *r* (cf. Siev., § 229):

bettra 10. 31; 12. 12; snotter 24. 45; snottre 13. 54 etc. (9); snyttrō 12. 42, (but snytru 11. 19); wættrē 3. 11 etc. (5 forms); ytterre 25. 30, (but yterræ 22. 18).

Occasionally before *l*:

settla 21. 12; -e 27. 19 (but 7 forms with single *t*, *d*, *p*, see below);

By assimilation in the pret. of weak verbs:

e. g., groette 1. 25; gemoette 18. 28 etc. (4); but, by an opposite change, *abriodde* 22. 7.

Final *tt* is preserved:

nett 13. 47 etc. (5), un-nytt 12. 36; pytt 12. 11.

Simplification of *tt* to *t* occurs frequently:

liceteras 6. 2 etc. (6); -um 24. 51, (also 6 forms with *tt* 22. 18 etc.); nyte 7. 16 (3 nyttē 20. 3 etc.); ondetu 7. 23 etc. (4 forms); haleteþ 10. 12, (but halettaþ 5. 47; roket-to 13. 35); gesete (1. sg. pres. ind.) 25. 23, (2 sette, 12. 18 etc.); setun (pret. pl.) 23. 2; 15. 35 (but settun 27. 29. 37).

*d* + ð gives *t*, as in WS. (cf. Siev., § 359. 3) in:

bit (3 sg.) 7. 8 (but biddeþ 7. 10); the comp. latuwas 23. 24 etc. (s. I., § 23 b), but latteuw 2. 6.

*t* + þ gives *t*, of course, after a cons. in: uuiltu 26. 17; wiltu 13. 28; 20. 21; (but arþu 11. 3; cf. earð 6. 9).

Gemination is unjustified in:

sitteþ (3 sg.) 19. 28. 29 (anal. with pl.); gesette (imp. s.) 9. 18; setteþ (3 sg.) 9. 16; 24. 47, (but seteþ 21. 41 etc.); settnisse 15. 2. 3. 6 (3 set- 13. 35 etc.); gefætted 13. 15; metta 26. 17, (7 mete 24. 45 etc.); ðrittig 27. 9, (but pritig 13. 8. 23); geatt 7. 13, (but geate 7. 13. 14); sætt (pret. 3. sg.) 4. 16; 26. 55. 69; sett 15. 29 etc. (4), (but 3 sæt 24. 3 etc.).

*tl* becomes ðl, as in North., (cf. Siev., § 196. 2), in:

spaðl 27. 30; sepel 5. 34, (but sætil 23. 6, and 3 *t*, 4 *d* in obl. cases, see I. p. 31).

*t* stands for final þ, *th*, (common in Corpus, cf. Dieter, § 41) in:

the verbs: *scyldigat* 6. 12; *swerat* 23. 22; *ræccet* 2. 6: *soecet* 12. 39 (but 3 -ep 7. 8 etc.); *neolicet* 4. 17, (4 -ep 10. 7 etc.); *adwæscet* 12. 20: *gehnyscet* 21. 44;

the proper name *nazaret* 4. 13. (but -ep 2. 23; 21. 11);

for initial *th* (indicating the pronunciation):

*tomas* 10. 3; *taddeus* 10. 3.

ð for final *t* (in WS.) in:

*earð* 6. 9 (but 10 *eart* 14. 33 etc., cf. Siev. § 427. 1).

*t* stands for *d*, before and after surds (cf. Siev. § 198. 4), in :

*sint* 5. 12 etc. (6); *prot-bore* 20. 3 (but *prod-* 11. 16); *bletsade* 26. 26; *ge-* 25. 34; *geblœtsad* 21. 9; 23. 39 (but *bledsade* 14. 19; *miltsa* 20. 30 etc. (9 forms), but *t* is lost (cf. Siev. § 196 n. 3; Zeuner § 46. 2) in *milsade* 14. 14.

Lat. *t* is preserved (cf. Lindelöf, § 38 anm.) in:

*lat(in)* 27. 46, (WS. *Læden*, cf. Cosijn, I. § 63); but becomes *d* in : *ecedes* 27. 48 (cf. Pog. § 319); of course *mynetræ* 21. 12 etc., as regularly in OE. (cf. Pog. § 318).

§ 18. *d* is the sonant dental stop in OE. It is common in all positions. R' has :

e. g., *dure* 6. 6 etc.; *seda* 13. 32; *gôd* 7. 11 etc.; *drincande* 20. 22; *dwale* 6. 24; *stondep* 12. 26; *gebond* 14. 3; *hald* 19. 17; *geard* 21. 33; *adle* 9. 35 etc.

Geminated:

*biddan* 6. 8 etc.; *bedde* 9. 2 etc.; *bewedded* 1. 18; *midden* 16. 26 etc.; in the proper name *taddeus* 10. 3 (Lat. text *thatheus*).

*d + d = dd* in the pret. of weak verbs:

e. g., *læddon* 26. 57; *hydde* 13. 33 etc., etc.; but *t + d = dd* in *abriodde* (cf. § 17).

Final *dd* is preserved in :

*bedd* 9. 6.

Simplification of *dd* to *d* appears in:

*bidap* (pl). 20. 22 (8 *biddap* 21. 22 etc.); of course in *sendon* 22. 16 etc. (cf. Siev. § 198. 5). Usage varies in the foreign word *saducea* 3. 7 etc. (3), but *sadducea* 16. 6 etc. (3), though the Latin text has a single *d* in every case.

Geminination is unjustifiable in :

*togebedd* (pret. sg.). 8. 2; *bedd* (pret. sg.) 18. 26; following the present forms, (but 3 *bed*, 2 *bæd*, 1 *gebæd*, see I., p. 14); *biddeth* (3. sg.) 7. 10; *bidde* (imp.) 6. 6; *gebiddes* (2. sg.) 4. 9, these after anal. of the pl.

*d* for *ð* in the following is probably due to neglect of the scribe in crossing *d*, scarcely to older usage (cf. Siev. § 199. n. 1):

eordu 23. 15; -an 18. 18 (but 38 forms with *ð*, *p*); dead (sb.) 2. 15; 10. 21; 26. 66; -e 4. 16; 20. 19 (but 9 forms with *ð*, *p*); cræd (cantet) 26. 34. 75; geweorðæd (3. sg.) 13. 22; cymid (3. sg.) 24. 42; dægne 5. 25 (but 8 forms with *ð*, *p*); nider (infl. of *pider*) 11. 23, (8 times with *ð*, *p*).

*dm* for *ðm* in:

eadmedap 18. 4, eadmod 11. 29 is also found in LWS. (cf. Siev., § 201. n. 3).

*dz* for *ðs* occurs in:

bædzere 16. 14; 17. 13 (but bæzere 11. 11 etc., cf. I., p. 28).

On the other hand *ð*, *p* for *d*, medial and final, is quite frequently found:

In the perf. parts.: nemneþ 5. 19; genægeþ 23. 12, (cf. Lindelöf, § 38); in the pret. without gramm. change: wyrðon (ind.) 10. 6; wyrðe (opt.) 24. 22; in other words: þune 4. 8 (but 16 dune 5. 1 etc.); mið 9. 10 etc. (28), (but 53 mid 27. 66 etc.); hæmeþ 5. 32 (but 3 hæmed 15. 19 etc.); þusenð 14. 21 (but 6 forms with *d*); doubtful: geþo 7. 5; in the foreign proper name: dauið 12. 3; -e 1. 17; -es 9. 27 etc. (9); dauiþes 1. 20, (but dauid 22. 43. 45; -e 1. 17).

*d* for Lat. *t* in:

ecedes 27. 48 (cf. § 17).

For change of *d* to *t* before and after surds,  
e. g., sint, prot-, etc., see § 17.

Final *d* is often, but not always, lost in the proclitic on- (= ond-) in verbs:

e. g. onfeng 25. 24 etc. (cf. I., p. 19, and II., § 2).

*ld* stands for older *lp*, as regularly in OE., in:  
gold 2. 11 etc.; wuldor 4. 8 etc. (cf. Siev., § 201. 2).

*dl* for older *ðl* in:

nedle 19. 24; adle 4. 23 etc., (cf. Siev., § 201. 3); *p* is preserved after short vowels in: gestaþulad 7. 25 (cf. Siev., § 201. n. 2).

§ 19. *ð* and *p* represent the interdental spirant in OE., *ð* being most used in the best early MSS. and taking the place of older *th* (cf. Siev., § 199 and n.). R' shows a marked preference for *p*, but has *th* in a few cases. Our text is plainly distinguished in this particular from Lind., Rit., Ps.,

Cura Past., Corpus, the Merc. Charters and the Minora. The relative frequency of *p* and *ð* in R' may be seen from the following analysis:

#### Initial *p*, *ð*:

In the dem. pro.: *pæt*, 62 p, 1 ð; *pæs*, 47 p, 2 ð; *pære*, 37 p; *pæm*, 164 p, 28 ð; *pone*, 59 p, 2 ð; *pa*, 156 p, 8 ð; *para*, 41 p, 1 ð; all forms of *pes*, *pis* etc., 132 p, 5 ð.

In the second per. pro. ð is more common than in the dem. pro.: *pu*, 81 p, 18 ð; *pe*, 49 p, 38 ð; *pin*, -es, etc., 84 p, 9 ð; also in the advs. *pær*, 47 p, 8 ð; *pus*, 6 p, 1 ð; Only *p* have: *pæt* (conj.), 70; *pætte*, 23; *ponne*, 91; *purb*, 30.

In nouns and adjectives initial ð is quite frequent: 58 p, 35 ð; also in verbs: 49 p, 23 ð. But in some words ð occurs as often as *p*, or oftener: e. g. *ðreattan* 20. 31 etc., 2 ð, 2 p; *ðurfun* 6. 32 etc., 2 ð, 2 p; *ðægnade* 8. 15 etc., 4 ð, 2 p; *ðwog* 27. 24 etc., 2 ð, 1 p, (1 th); *ðyrsteþ* 5. 6 etc., 2 ð, 1 p; *ðrymme* 24. 30 etc., 3 ð, 1 p; *ðryenisse* 24. 9 etc., 3 ð; etc.

There is differentiation of the verbs: *ðyncan*, 6 ð, 1 p; and *pencan*, 8 p, (s. I. §§ 12, 41, 48).

Again other words, which have surd *th* in Mod. E., are written always, or in most cases, with *p* in R': *pæce* (thatch) 24. 17 etc., 3 p; *pornas* 13. 7 etc., 4 p, 1 ð; *peof* 6. 20 etc., 3 p, 2 ð; *pinge* 5. 32 etc., 3 p, 1 ð; *prowiapt* 11. 12 etc., 16 p, 1 ð, etc.

#### Medial *p*, *ð*:

Usage varies in R': e. g., *broper* 10. 2 etc., 37 p, 2 ð; *oper* 20. 21 etc., 53 p; *hræpe* 5. 25 etc., 8 p, 4 ð; *swiðe* 17. 23 etc., 9 ð, 5 p; *swiðor* 12. 12 etc., 14 ð, 5 p; *eorðe* 13. 5 etc., 24 ð, 14 p; *niper* 7. 25 etc., 6 p, 2 ð; *eaðe* 19. 26 etc., 2 ð, 1 p; *wyrðe* 8. 8 etc., 8 ð, 5 p; *warape* 13. 2 etc., 1 p, 1 ð; *yþum* 14. 24 etc., 1 p, 1 ð; *byrðen* 11. 30 etc., 1 ð, 1 p; *scape* 26. 55 etc., 3 p; *unbliðe* 19. 22 etc., 2 ð; *fremðum* 17. 25 etc., 2 ð; *fœðe* 14. 13; *iuguðe* 19. 20, etc.

#### Final *p*, *ð*:

In pres. ind. and in imp.: a) in strong verbs: 271 p, 57 ð; b) in weak verbs: 306 p, 76 ð; but the ratio is different in *bið* 16. 4 etc., 72 ð, 30 p. In the pret. sg. of strong verbs: *wearð* 22. 2 etc., 8 ð; but *cwæp* (pres. or pret., s. § 46) 2. 8 etc., 197 p, 3 ð.

In other words ð occurs oftener than *p*: a) in particles: *wið* 5. 11 etc., 29 ð, 5 p; *mið* 9. 11 etc., 28 ð; *forð* 13. 23 etc., 5 ð, 3 p; but *op* 18. 30 etc., 23 p, 8 ð; b) in nouns: *muð* 12. 34 etc., 3 ð, 2 p; *deað* 16. 28 etc., 6 ð, 3 p; *frið* 10. 12 etc., 3 ð; *sop* 3. 9 etc.,

30 p, 5 ð; cyþ-nisse 8. 4 etc., 5 p, 1 ð; wræð 8. 32; weorþ (adj.) 27. 9 etc., 1 p, 1 ð.

For OWS., Ps., Rit., Corpus, cf. Cosijn, I., § 148; Zeuner, § 38; Lindelöf, § 39; Dieter, § 41.

The Merc. Charters have initial ð 22; medial þ 2, ð 29, (th 7, td 1, d 1); final ð 17, þ 1, (th 1).

The Minora have initial þ 3, ð 141, (th 3, foreign names); medial ð 42; final ð 26.

*th* stands for *p*, *ð*, in R' in:

Germ. words: the 23. 17; thi 21. 42; thæm 7. 9; thuað 15. 2; biddeth 7. 10; ripath 6. 26; foreign prop. names (following the Lat.): e. g., bethleim 2. 5. 8. 16; bethania 26. 6; 21. 17; Matheus 9. 9 etc.; scarioth 10. 4; 26. 14, etc.; but þ, ð, for Lat. *th* also occurs: ðamar 1. 3; beþfage 21. 1; arimaðia 27. 57; golgopa 27. 33; ruð 1. 5; ð stands for *d* in: dauið 12. 3, -es 1. 1 etc. (s. § 18).

Gemination occurs:

unsceþpende 27. 24; -þð- 12. 7; opþe 5. 36 etc. (51); opþ (= opþe) 12. 5; 19. 29; eþpa 5. 17. 18; opðe 25. 39 (2). 44; hþ for þþ in the north. form mohþa 6. 19. 20, (cf. Siev., § 199. n. 2; Eng. ed., § 200 n.); gemination before *r* (cf. Cosijn, I., p. 200) is wanting, e. g., oþre, hweþre (s. I., §§ 2. 11).

*p* + *p* = *pp*, *ðð* in:

seoppa 5. 13; 26. 16; seoðpan 4. 17.

Simplification:

siðet (= sið þæt) 26. 29. The pres. ind. 3. sg. is usually preserved without contraction and simplification (cf. Cosijn, I., p. 200): weorþaþ 24. 21; -að 21. 21; -æd 13. 22; geceyþaþ 26. 73; cweþaþ 12. 32 (2); but cwið 15. 5.

ð + *d* gives *dd* (cf. Siev., § 201. 5):

cwiddu 11. 17; cyddun 14. 12 (but cyðdon 8. 33).

*t* + *t* gives *tt*:

þætte 8. 28 etc. (23); but *t* in: wiltu 13. 28 etc. (s. § 17).

Final *d* becomes *ð* in mið (11 times) before initial *p*, *ð*, in next word:

13. 29; 18. 16; 25. 31; 26. 18 etc.; but also (14 times) mið when the next word begins with a vowel or some other cons. than *p*, *ð*: e. g., 13. 56; 19. 26 etc.

*s* + *p* (in next word) gives *st*, as in WS. (cf. Siev., § 201. 6):

getwiodesstu 14. 31; gesihstu 7. 3; cwepestu 7. 4.

Final *p* is lost (cf. Siev. § 360. 2) in:  
wite ge (imp.) 24. 33.

*p* takes the place of *s* 13 times (infl. of obl. cases) in:  
the nom. s. m. of the dem. pro.: *pe* (= *se*) 16. 3 etc.; *ðe*

17. 27.

*p*, *ð* experiences gram. change to *d*:  
*cwæp*, *cwædon*; *wurðon*, but *ð* remains: 10. 6; 24. 22.

For the changes:

*t* for final *p*, *ð*; *ð* for final *t*; *d + ð = t (tl)*; *ðl* for *tl*, see § 17.

For the changes:

*d* for *p*, *ð*, and the converse; *dm* for *ðm*; *dz* for *ðs*; *ld*, *dl* for Germ. *þf*, *þl*, see § 18.

§ 20. *s*, originally a surd dental spirant, is common in all positions in OE. (cf. Siev., §§ 202, 203, 204). R' has:

e. g., *sundor* 14. 14; *sincan* 14. 30; *scade* 4. 16; *slep* 25. 5; *smiðes* 13. 55; *spaðl* 27. 30; *stīgas* 3. 3; *stream* 8. 18; *swina* 8. 30; *sweord* 10. 34, *dysig* 5. 22; *þyrstigne* 25. 37; *fæste* 6. 17; *fisc* 17. 27 etc.

Gemination occurs in:

*cysse* 26. 48; *enysap* 7. 7; -*ande* 7. 8; the suffix-nisse 1. 1 etc.; the foreign word *ælmesse* 6. 3; -*isse* 6. 2 (cf. Pog., § 75); by assimilation, *ss* for *sr*: *lessa* 11. 11; *pisse* 17. 20 etc.; -*a* 18. 6 etc.

Gemination is unjustifiable in:

*fæss* 9. 20; 14. 36; *wæss* 2. 18 (but 129 times with *s*); *pisses* 20. 12 etc. (3); -*ere* 21. 21; -*um* 8. 9 etc. (9); *passum* 8. 32;

Foreign proper names have *ss* for *s* occasionally, following the Lat. text: *farisseas* 23. 25; -*æsis* 12. 2; -*ea* 16. 6; 23. 26 (but 24 forms with *s*); *essaias* 15. 7; -*m* 4. 14; 21. 4 (but 6 with *s*).

*ss* is simplified to *s* in:

*cneoris* 17. 17; *cneuris* 16. 4; *ælmes* (s. above) 6. 4; the suffix -*nis*, Ws. -*nes(s)*, (cf. Cosijn, II. p. 28 ff.): *gennis* 22. 16; *hreanis* 16. 3; *hreornis* 8. 24; *be-hygdnis* 13. 22; *gelicens* 22. 20; *smerennis* 2. 11; *styrennis* 28. 2; *gemænes* 27. 19; -*spyrnes* 16. 23; of course before a cons.: *cyste* 26. 49; and after a cons.: *wyrse* 12. 45 etc. (3), (cf. Siev., § 180).

Metathesis of *sc* (= *hs*, *xs*, *x*) occurs in:

*ahsadun* 12. 10 etc. (5 forms); *axsadun* 22. 23; -*e* 22. 35; *geaxast* 19. 17 (but 3 forms with *sc* *ascaden* 17. 10 etc.); *ruxlende* 9. 23; *betwihs* 21. 25; *betwix* 20. 26; 27. 56; without metath., *ascan* (*ashes*) 11. 21.

Grammatical change of *s* to *r*:

geceas 12. 18; gecuron 13. 48 etc.; forleoseð 10. 39 etc.; forloren 15. 24.

*st* arises from *t* + *t* (cf. Siev., § 232 c) in:  
wast 15. 12; wiste 16. 8 etc.; mostun 14. 36.

Final *s* is lost in:

foedel- (= -els) 22. 4.

Medial *s* is lost by assimilation in:

ure (pro.) 6. 12 etc. (9); -u 21. 38; -um 8. 17; 21. 42.

Inorganic *s* appears in:

asceorf 18. 8 (but aceorf 5. 30).

§ 21. *z* is occasionally used in OE. to represent the sound *ts* (cf. Siev., § 205 and n.).

R' has *z*, *dz* (= ðs) in the Germ. word:

bæzeres 11. 12 etc. (5); bædzere 16. 14; 17. 13 (cf. I. p. 28).

With this exception *z* appears only in foreign proper names:

e. g., zebedeaeas 4. 21 etc. (5); zabulones 4. 13. 15; zacharias 23. 35; belzebub 10. 25 etc. (3); chorazam 11. 21; gezemani (Lat. gethsamani) 26. 36; nazaret 4. 13 etc. (5).

### Gutturals and Palatals.

*c* (*k*, *q*), *g*, *h* (*x*).

§ 22. *c* (*k*, *q*, *x*) is the surd stop, both guttural and palatal in OE. (cf. Siev., §§ 206, 207; Sweet, HES. § 535). It is common in all positions and before all vowels. R' has:

e. g., carcern 5. 25; corn 17. 20; cuma 25. 35; ceke 5. 39; ceaf 3. 12; cæstra 8. 34; cild 19. 13; cirm 25. 6; cyning 14. 9; claf 9. 16; cromum 15. 27; cnehtas 18. 3; cwern 18. 6; scua 4. 16; sceatta 25. 27; nacud 25. 36; fæce 25. 19; fisceras 4. 18; loc 5. 36; were 11. 2; hwelc 12. 48; unc 20. 30 etc.

*qu* for *ew* occurs in:

quatern 25. 39; quom 28. 9; -on 2. 1. (cf. § 8).

*K* for the guttural stop *c* occurs often (130 times) in R', (cf. Siev., § 207, n. 2; Sweet, HES. § 538):

a) Initial: kennisse 1. 1. 18; a- 19. 28; kennep 1. 21. 23; akenned 1. 16 etc., 8 k; kende 1. 2 16; a- 19. 12; -u 1. 25; kempe 27. 27 etc.,

2 k, 1 c; kining 2. 2 etc., 6 k, 16 c, (always c in *cynn*, 10 forms); *kægen* 16. 19; *kælic* 20. 22 etc., 2 k, 3 c; *kasere* 22. 17 etc., 4 k; *unklene* 8. 16 etc., 2 k, 4 c; *kneorisse* 1. 17 etc., 4 k, 9 c; *kneu* 27. 29, (*cneu* 17. 14); *kræftgu(m)* 2. 1. 7. 16; *krist* 2. 4 etc., 6 k, 11 c. Initial *k* occurs 28 times in chapters 1 and 2; after this only once or twice in a chap. (3 times in ch. 22), altogether but 20 times.

b) Medial: *gebroken* 21. 44 (but 7 forms with c); *bokera* 8. 19 etc., 19 k, 3 c (always c in *boc*, 4 times); *lokigæp* 27. 24; *lokende* 19. 26 (3 forms with c); *roketto* 13. 35; *sukendra* 21. 16; *ascâkep* 10. 14; *taken* 12. 39 etc., 2 k, 11 c; *onsaekep* 10. 33 (3 forms with c); *to-eke* 25. 20; -an 15. 38; *eknum* 24. 19; *eknisse* 21. 19; *ceke* 5. 39; *seoke* 8. 33 etc., 5 k, 2 c; *ciken* 23. 37; *smikende* 12. 20; *folkes* 2. 4 etc., 3 k, 20 c; *wolken* 17. 5; *bilket-to* 13. 35; *arkę* 24, 38; *carkern* 25. 43 etc., 2 k, 5 c; *merkade* 27. 66; *besenkend* 18. 6.

c) Final: *ek* 5. 39 etc., 31 k, 9 c; -*sek* 17. 15 etc. (2). Medial and final *k* is pretty evenly distributed throughout R' after ch. 3, (ch. 2 has but 1 case; chaps. 1, 3, 6, 7, 9, none); ch. 23 has the most (10), other chaps. not more than 5 or 6; altogether 82. Ps. and Rit. have only c, (cf. Zeuner, § 41; Lindelöf, § 42); Corpus, 2 k, (cf. Dieter, p. 63). For *k* in WS. see Cosijn, I., § 131.

*h* for *c* appears always in:

ah (conj.) 4. 4 etc. (74), (cf. Siev., § 210. 3).

*g* for *c* (sonant for surd) occurs in:

*galdes* 10. 42.

*ng* for *nc* in:

*pongunge* 15. 36; *pongade* 26. 27, (but *geþanc* 16. 8).

*nc* for *ng* occurs in:

*bæcline* 4. 10; twice, *nge*: *cyningc* 21. 5; 27. 37 (cf. Sweet, HES. § 533).

Gemination occurs in:

*gemecum* 11. 16; *loccas* 10. 30; *ticcen* 25. 33; *awæccan* 3. 9 etc.; before *l* (cf. Siev., § 228): *miclaþ* 28. 5, (*micladun* 15. 31); *micles* 8. 26; 14. 31; (-*miclæs* 16. 8); *miclan* 5. 35; -um 25. 19; *micle* 15. 33 etc. (9), (but 24 forms with c, 6. 23 etc.).

*cc* for *cg* (= *gg*) appears in:

*liccende* 9. 36, and simplified *licende* 9. 2 (with *cg*, 5. 28; 8. 14);

Simplification of *cc* to *c* takes place in:

*wæcep* (imp. pl.) 25. 13; *wæcende* 24. 43, (but 7 forms with *cc*); before a cons. in: *ticnum* 25. 32; when final: *loc* 5. 36.

Gemination is unjustifiable in:

*breccane* 5. 17 (cf. *brecanne* 5. 17); *ræccet* (3. sg.) 2. 6; *arecce* (imp. s.) 13. 36; 15. 15; *geneleccende* 4. 3, (but *neolicep* 10. 7 etc.).

*c + t* gives *ht* (cf. Siev., § 232) in :

wyrhte 27. 7 etc.; worhte 13. 58 etc.; þohte 1. 20 etc.; but *ct* in: *geneolictē* 9. 20, (cf. -lehte 21. 34); and *ht* in: *nealehctun* 21. 1.

Final *c* is lost in :

ewis- 21. 32; æwis- 21. 31; eawis 18. 17.

*x* stands for *cs* in :

axe 3. 10; exlan 23. 4; geaxast 19. 17 etc.

*ch* (= Lat. *ch*, == *k*) occurs in proper names :

e. g., chorazam 11. 21; rachel 2. 18; rachab (Lat. *racab*) 1. 5; hiericho 20. 29 etc.

For metathesis of *sc* see § 20.

For the effect of *c* on preceding and following vowels see I., pp. 16, 25, 28, 36, 58, 69, 74, 78.

§ 23. *g* is regarded by Sievers as a spirant in OE. (cf. gr., §§ 212, 213), but Sweet considers it a stop (cf. HES., §§ 546, 547). It is sonant, guttural or palatal according to position (cf. Siev., § 206), and is common in all positions.

R' has :

e. g., gaste 12. 32; gallan 27. 34; gold 2. 11; guma 9. 15; grornadun 20. 11; grist- 13. 42; gæfel 22. 17; geard 21. 33; geld 16. 26; gyrdels 10. 9; egan 20. 15; mægden 9. 25; endunge 13. 39; ðægn 20. 26; belgas 9. 17; bæg 27. 29; ænig 6. 24; onfeng 25. 18 etc.

*i* stands for initial *g* in :

iare 22. 8; -a 22. 4; iarwan 26. 17; Iarwede 26. 12 etc., 6 forms with *i*, 9 with *g* (s. I., § 5. b); ierde 10. 10; ion-gaþ 10. 5 (cf. -gangaþ 15. 9 etc.).

*g* stands for medial *w* in :

segun (pret. pl., cf. Siev., § 391. n. 5) 11. 4 etc. (25 forms); higu 10. 36.

*g* stands for medial *h* (indicating its spirant quality) in :

dogter 15. 22 (but 7 dohter, 21. 5 etc.); ofslægp 17. 23 (perhaps infl. of pret.).

More frequently *g* stands for final *h*:

betwig 24. 10 (2), (but 3 h, 1 hc, 18. 15 etc.); gesæg (pret. s. of sêon) 3. 16 (but 18 times h, 3. 7 etc.; once gh, -sægh 4. 21); slag (imp.) 5. 21, (but þwah 6. 17; fleoh 2. 13; ateoh 18. 9); always, of course, slog (anal. with pl., as in WS., cf. Siev., § 392. 2) 26. 51 etc. (4); ðwog 27. 24.

*h* and *hg* for final *g* (further indication of spirant *g*) occur in :

burh 10. 11 (cf. burg 22. 7); astahg (pret. sg.) 5. 1 (but 7 stag, 7. 27 etc.).

On the other hand *g* for *c* (indicating a stop) appears once : galdes 10. 42.

For the interchange of *ng* (surd gut. stop, cf. Siev., § 215) and *nc* see § 22.

Gemination of *g* is written *cg* (surd pal. stop, cf. Siev., § 216), as in WS.:

-licgan 5. 28 etc.; sækge 8. 4 etc. bycgan 25. 10 etc., but *gc* in: sægce 23. 3; sægcaþ 23. 3; 27. 13, (cf. Siev., § 216. n. 1); and *cc* in: liccende 9. 36; reduced to *c* in licensde 9. 2.

Gemination is unjustified in :

sækge (imp. s.) 18. 17.

*g* occurs by error in :

ingingende (incipiens) 20. 8.

*g* is rarely lost in R' :

After *l* (cf. Siev., § 214. n. 11; Eng. ed., 213 n.): geoldun (= ge-algodun) 27. 66.

Between cons. (cf. Siev., § 214. n. 10; Eng. ed., n. 4): marne 6. 30 (but mærgne 21. 18; mergenne 16. 3).

Before *n* after a palatal vowel (cf. Siev., § 214. 3): only ongæn 27. 32, (6 forms preserve *g*, 8. 34 etc.; also frægn 27. 11 etc.; þægn 23. 11 etc.). Before þ and *d*, *g* is always preserved: e. g., tægpigap 23. 23; gebrægd 26. 51; strægde 25. 26 etc.; alægde 27. 60; sægde 14. 4 etc.

Loss of *g* occurs once (probably a clerical error) in the prefix *ge-*:

ewisade 12. 16.

Medial *g* introduced from the 3d and 4th stems occurs in wrigan (= WS. wrêon) 11. 27.

Gram. change between *h* and *g* is interfered with by analogy; see above, slog etc.

For *g* = Germ. *j* see § 9. For the effect of *g* on preceding and following vowels see I, pp. 16, 25, 28, 58, 69, 74, 78.

§ 24. *h* represents the guttural and palatal surd spirant in OE. (cf. Siev., § 170).

It is weakened to a mere breath as an initial cons. (cf. Siev., § 217; Sweet, HES. § 497), and often lost in the medial position.

a) Initial *h* is common before vowels and „vowellike“ consonants. R' has:

e. g., hal 9. 22; hord 6. 20; hine 21. 33 etc.; hlisa 9. 26; hreof 8. 2; hwa 3. 7 etc.

Initial *h* is occasionally lost in WS. (in Hatton MS., »nach vocal oder d«, cf. Cosijn, I. p. 181), in Rit. and North. (cf. Lindelöf, § 44; Bout., p. CXLIff.; Hilmer, p. 42), rarely in Ps. and Corpus (cf. Zeuner, § 43. 1; Dieter, p. 66).

This loss of *h* is rather more frequent in R':

Before vowels (the preceding word often ending in a vowel or nasal, but also in *c t, d, f, s, ð*): is 7. 24; 22. 24; 24. 46, (but 52 his); us 17. 25, (but 37 forms with *h*); eard 25. 24; eorta 6. 21; -um 18. 35, (but 16 with *h*); eora 6. 15; 7. 16. 20; 8. 34; 9. 30; 10. 18; 15. 8; 23. 30; 24. 31, (but 75 heora); eo 16. 18, (16 heo, hio); æfdon 8. 33; æfð 13. 12, (76 forms with *h*; of course næfð 8. 20; næfdon 13. 5 etc., as regularly in OE.); ge-yrdon 19. 25, (63 with *h*, geherap 11. 5 etc.); yngrade 25. 35, (8 with *h*); and, less important, the foreign words: ymne 26. 30; erodes 2. 1, (but 13 with *h*).

Before consonants: wilce 21. 24, (36 *hw*); ægwile 7. 17; 12. 36, (33 æghw-); werfe 18. 3; weorfe 10. 13; werfde 9. 22; 17. 17; wærfende 21. 18; weorfap 6. 16, gewyrfeþ 6. 19. 20; (gehwerfæþ 7. 6; -ad 16. 23); welpas 15. 27; wilén 13. 21; wær 8. 20, (5 *hwær*); wa 22. 24, (20 *hwa*); ræpe 14. 31; 24. 29, (10 *hr*); ruxlende 9. 23; rægl 28. 3, (but 16 *hr*); read 11. 8, (but 4 *hr*, s. I. § 62); reuwe 18. 10, (hreowep 15. 32); genægeþ 23. 12 (2); næscum 11. 8 (2).

On the other hand inorganic initial *h* appears rarely in WS., more commonly in Rit. and North. (cf. refs. above). R' has inorganic *h*:

Before vowels: his (est) 3. 3; 5. 3; 17. 4; 22. 20, (but 72 is); heow 6. 14, (151 eow); hað 5. 34. 36; hape 26. 72; -as 5. 33, (ap, 4 forms, s. I. p. 68); hôehtnisse 5. 10; hoehtende 5. 12; hehtende 5. 11, (but ehtende etc., 5 forms, s. I. § 49); hefalsunge 15. 19; hefalsaþ 9. 3; -adun 27. 39, (but efalsade 26. 65); in foreign names, following Lat. text: hierusalem 21. 1 etc. (13); hiericho 20. 29.

Before consonants: hwute 27. 49; hræfnað 6. 24; gehroefa 27. 11; gehrefum 9. 11; -hroefe 9. 10, (but geroese 28. 14 etc. 13 forms); hryft 5. 40, (but ryfte etc., 3 forms, s. I., § 27. c); hriþes 9. 38, (cf. ripae 9. 38); gehreorde 15. 33; hreordeþ 12. 3; hreordun 22. 31, (but reordade 19. 4 etc., 5 forms).

b) Medial *h* and (original) *hw* are lost in R', as regularly in OE. (cf. Siev., § 218), before a vowel:

e. g., *fere* 6. 25; *feo* 28. 15; *hea* 17. 1; *slân* 24. 49; *geseon* 13. 17; *teonde* 13. 48; *fleoþ* 24. 16; *ten* 18. 24 etc., (cf. I. §§ 10, 24, 48).

But *h* (*g*) appears (by infl. of 2. 3. sg.) in:

*slæhp* (pl.) 24. 9; *ofslægp* 17. 23, (but *slæp* 5. 21; 23. 34).

Of course *h* remains in foreign proper names:

*iohannes* 9. 14 etc.; *israhel* 9. 33 etc.

Medial *h* is also lost between a vowel and one of the consonants *l*, *r*, *m*, *n*, (cf. Siev., § 222. 2):

e. g., *fleam* 24. 20; *betweon* 3. 9 etc.; in the comps.: *heanisse* 13. 5 etc. (5); *breanis* 16. 3; *nealehte* 21. 34 etc. (9); and, before *b*, (*f*), in: *wibed* 5. 24 etc., (8 forms, s. I. § 52).

Medial *h* is preserved in the combs. *ht*, *hs* (x), (cf. Siev., § 221), and is then usually a palatal spirant in R', (cf. I. §§ 7, 21, etc.):

e. g., *cneht* 2. 9 etc.; *reht* 20. 4 etc.; *mæhte* 8. 28 etc.

But with *ct*, *hct*, *gt* for *ht*:

*geneolict* 9. 20; *nealehctun* 21. 1; *dogter* 15. 22.

Inorganic *h* appears before *t* in:

*wihtga* 21. 46; 24. 15, (but 36 *witga* etc.).

*hs* (written *x*) appears in:

*wexan* 13. 30 etc.; *sex* 17. 1; *sextig* 13. 8 etc. For *hs* = *sc* see § 20.

*h* is lost before *s* in:

*westem* 3. 8 etc. (cf. Siev., § 221. 2).

*h* is preserved in WS. and Kt., but lost in North., in the collocation *hs*, *hð*, due to vowel-syncope (cf. Siev., § 222). R' fluctuates in this respect:

in 2. and 3. sg. pres. ind. of contract verbs: *onfoeð* 10. 40 etc. (11); -*foop* 19. 29, (only once *onfoehþ* 13. 20); *slæp* 5. 21, (but *slæhp* 10. 28; *slægst* 23. 37); *sis* 7. 3; *geseqs* 7. 3, (but *gesihst* 7. 5; -*u* 7. 3); *gesið* 6. 4; *geseoþ* (sg.) 6. 18, (but *gesihð* 5. 28; 6. 6).

*h* always remains in the superl.; *næhsta* 20. 14 etc., (12 forms, cf. I. § 45); (once *xs*, *nexstan* 5. 43); and in the comps.: *hebsynne* 12. 5; -*settle* 27. 19;

Gemination (*ch* for *hh*) appears only in:

the North. form *aechir* 12. 1, (before *r*, cf. Siev., § 228).

c) Final *h* is a surd spirant in OE. (cf. Sweet, HES. § 502), usually palatal in Ps. and North. (cf. Siev., § 206. 4), and always preserved. R' has:

e. g., genoh 6. 34 etc.; onfoh 1. 20; pwah 6. 17; ateh 18. 9; neh 16. 27; heh 4. 5; purh 1. 22 etc.

*ch* for *h* appears in:

gesech 8. 4, (cf. beseoh 18. 10).

*hc* for *h* in:

betwihc 20. 26, (cf. betwih 18. 15; 26. 58).

*g* for *h* in:

betwig 24. 10 (2); slag (imp.) 5. 21, and the prets. slog, ðwog etc., (s. § 23).

*h* for *c* in:

ah 4. 4 etc. (74).

For h̄ = medial p̄ see § 19. For the effect of final *h* on a preceding vowel see I. §§ 7, 13, 21, 60, 63.

---

## Inflection.

### I. The Verb.

#### Personal Endings of the Verb.

##### The Present.

###### § 25. The singular pres. ind.

*First person:* The regular ending in WS. (except for verbs in -mi) is -e, (cf. Siev., § 355; Cosijn, II., § 72); for weak verbs Cl. II., -ie, ige (cf. Siev., § 414, n. 1; Cosijn, II., p. 181). In the Ps. the ending is -u (weak II., -iu, rarely -igu), occasionally -o, rarely -a and -e (cf. Zeuner, § 47, I. b; § 53). Rit. has -o (weak II., -igo), sometimes -e and -a (cf. Lindelöf, § 46).

R' has regularly -e (99), -ige (2), seldom -o (5), -io (1), -u (5), -a (2):

###### a) in strong verbs:

arise 26. 32 etc. (2); ripe 25. 26; drince 26. 29 (2); cweþe 8. 9 etc. (7); sprece 13. 13; bidde 26. 36; agefe 18. 26; but *ageofu* 18. 29; cume 8. 7; -saece 10. 33; -sace 26. 35; forlete 18. 21; gange 21. 29; 26. 36; (altogether -e 21, -u 1). ða for WS. êa occurs in the contr. vb. *sle* 26. 31.

###### b) in weak verbs:

Cl. I., sette 12. 18 etc. (3); gesete 25. 23; cysse 26. 48; gereorde 11. 28; sende 10. 16; 11. 10; dyppe 3. 11; but *depu* 3. 11; gehæle 8. 7; but *hælo* 13. 15; *bilket-to* 13. 35; *roket-to* 13. 35; *on-tyno* 13. 35; *ondeto* 10. 32; *ondetu* 7. 23; 11. 25; selle 4. 9 etc. (3); *wyrce* 21. 27 etc. (3); (-e 16, -o 5, -u 3). Cl. II., getimbre 16. 18; 26. 61; þrōwe 26. 33; but *ðrowa* 17. 17; ahsige 21. 24; somnige 25. 26; *halsio* 26. 63; *ehtu* 11. 16; (-e 3, -ige 2, -io 1, -u 1, -a 1). This class has

*-ig, -i*, before the final vowel but 3 times in a total of 10. Cl. III., *sæcge* 2. 13 etc. (59); *sæcga* 5. 26.

For the endings of verbs in *-mi* see § 53.

*Second person*: The ending in OE., for st. verbs and Cl. I. weak, is *-es* (-is), later *-est* (-sð); for weak verbs, Cls. II. and III., *-as*, *-ast* (sð), (cf. Siev., § 356). The Ps. has *-es*, seldom *-est* (in st. vbs. and Cl. I. wk.), ratio of *-s* to *-st*, 107 : 10; *-as*, seldom *-ast* (Cl. II. and III. wk.), ratio, 44 : 3, (cf. Zeuner, p. 94). In Rit. *-st* is »ziemlich selten«; weak vbs., Cl. II. have *-as* (-ast), sometimes *-ias* and *-es*; 12 forms (weak vbs. of all classes) have *-eð*, *-að*, due to analogy, (cf. Lindelöf, pp. 73, 74).

In R' *-st* prevails. The ratio of *-st* to *-s* is 31 : 9. The endings are: (in st. vbs. and Cl. I. wk.) *-est* 17, *-ëst* 1, *-æst* 1, *-es* 7, (contr. forms) *-st* 4, *-s* 2; (in Cl. II. wk.) *-ast* 4; (in Cl. III. wk.) *-est* 4, *eþ* 1. The following forms occur:

a) Strong verbs:

*astigest* 11. 23; *ripes* 25. 24; *bindes* 16. 19 (2); *frægnast* 19. 17; *cumest* 5. 24; *cymest* 3. 14; *cwepest* 12. 23; *-u* 7. 4; *cwiðst* 27. 11 (syncope is frequent in WS. and Kt., very rare in North., cf. Siev., § 358. n.); *agefes* 5. 24; *spreces* 13. 10; *gebiddes* 4. 9; *gesihst* 7. 5; *-u* 7. 3; *gesees* 7. 3; *sis* 7. 3; *onsæcest* 26. 34; *slægst* 23. 37; *ganges* 8. 19; (*-est* 6, *-æst* 1, *-es* 7, contr. forms *-st* 4, *-s* 2).

b) weak verbs:

Cl. I., *geherest* 21. 16; *gehoerest* 27. 13; *lærest* 22. 16; *gemoe-test* 17. 27; *nemnest* 1. 21; *gestreonest* 18. 15; *stæn'est* 23. 37; &*wyrdest* 26. 62; *wenest* 18. 1 etc. (3); *wircest* 21. 23; (*-est* 11, *-ëst* 1). Cl. II., *somnast* 25. 24; *geaxast* 19. 17; *locast* 22. 16; *onðsacast* 26. 75. Cl. III., *sægest* 26. 70; *hæfest* 19. 21 (2); 22. 12, (these follow I. instead of II., as in WS., cf. also 3. per. below); *hæfep* (habes) 25. 25, (cf. Lindelöf, p. 74).

*Third person*: The ending for WS., in st. vbs. and wk. I., is *-eð* (older *-ið*, *-id*, *-et*, etc.), often with syncope (cf. Siev., §§ 357—8); in wk. vbs. II. and III., *-að* (cf. Siev., §§ 414—5). The Ps. has *-eð* (-ed, *-æð* 2), and *-að* (-ad), carefully distinguishing the classes as in WS. (cf. Zeuner, p. 94). Rit. has *-eð* (*-ið*), *-að*, interchanging occasionally without regard to class, and (less commonly) *-es*, *-as* (cf. Lindelöf pp. 74—6).

Syncope is almost unknown in Ps. and North., common in WS. and Kt. (cf. id. and Siev., § 358, n.).

R' has these endings: (in st. vbs. and wk. I.), -eþ(ð) 160, -aþ(ð) 44, iþ 6, -et 5, -æþ 2, -at 1, -æd 1, -id 1, with syncope 28 (+ 91 ?), contract vbs. 20; (in wk. vbs. II. and III.), -aþ(ð) 37, -iaþ 3, -eþ 16, -æþ 3, eþ 1, with syncope 6, contr. vb. 1.

The following forms occur: a) In strong verbs:

Cl. I., ariseð 12. 42 etc. (5); smiteþ 15. 11 (2); *stigað* 17. 27; 24. 17; *geuitað* 17. 20; (eð 7, -að 3.) Cl. II., bebeodeþ 4. 6; forleoseð 10. 39 etc. (3); abreopeð 21. 41. Cl. III., gelimpeþ 18. 13; drinccþ 24. 49; findeþ 13. 44 etc. (2); *gebindaþ* 12. 29; onginneþ 1. R.; -aþ 24. 49; swælteþ 15. 4; geldeþ 6. 4 etc. (3); helpeð 16. 26; gewyrfeþ 6. 19. 20; awoerpeþ 12. 24; ut-weorpeþ 9. 34 etc. (2); *geweorþað* 21. 21; 24. 21; *geweorðaed* 13. 22; werþeð 9. 16; with syn., *gewyrð* 13. 32, tobręgdeþ 12. 29; (-eþ 18, -aþ 4, -æd 1, syn. 1). Cl. IV., cymeþ 25. 6 etc. (14); -id 24. 42; -aþ 23. 35; with syncope, *cymþ* 13. 19; 24. 50; genimeþ 12. 11. 45; -aþ 10. 38; bereþ 7. 17 etc. (9); breceþ 12. 20; 27. 40; (-eþ 27, -aþ 2, -id 1, syncope 2). Cl. V., *cweþaþ* 12. 32 (2); with syn., *cwið* 15. 5, probably *cweþ* (ait) 8. 32 etc. (14); (dicit) 7. 21; 8. 26; ?(inquit) 14. 8; cwæþ (future) 25. 34. 40. 41; 21. 25; 24. 48; cwaëþ 5. 25. The following forms of this word are uncertain. There may be change of tense (pret. for pres.) as is most probable, or æ may stand for e (cf. I., §. 12, b): cwæþ (ait) 4. 7 etc. (66); cwęþ 11. 4 etc. (3); cwæþ (dicit) 8. 20 etc. (17); (dicente) 17. 26; (dicens) 25. 22 etc. (3); cwęþ (dicit) 12. 44. eteþ 9. 11; agæfeþ 16. 27; agefeþ 17. 11; ongeteð 13. 23; -aþ 13. 19; sprecaþ 10. 20; spreocaþ 12. 34; bit 7. 8; but *biddeth* 7. 10; ligeþ 8. 6; siteþ 28. 22; gesitþ 25. 31; sitteþ 19. 28; ge- 19. 29; gefeaþ 18. 13; gesihþ 5. 28; 6. 6; gesið 6. 4 geseoþ 6. 18; (-eþ 9, -aþ 5, -æþ 1, syncope 25 + 91?). Cl. VI., ahifeþ 9. 16; 12. 11; ðhafeþ 23. 12; slæþ 10. 28; *slaf* 5. 21; stondeþ 12. 25. 26; *sweraþ* 23. 16. 20. 21. 22; *swæræþ* 23. 18; *swæræþ* 23. 16; *swerat* 23. 22; wexeþ 13. 32; onsaekþ 10. 33; (-eþ 6. -aþ 6, -at 1).

Red. vbs., foehþ 13. 20; -foeð 10. 40 etc. (11); fooþ 19. 29; forleteþ 5. 32 etc. (6); gangeð 15. 17; falleþ 17. 15 etc. (4); fealleþ 12. 11; slepeþ 9. 24; sauweþ 13. 37; gesceadiþ 25. 32; with. syn., cræd (cantet) 26. 34. 75; (-eþ 14, -iþ 1).

b) In weak verbs:

Cl. I., *fremmaþ* 19. 9 (2); 7. 24. 26; setteþ 9. 16; 24. 47; seteþ 21. 41 etc. (3); forbærneþ 3. 12; *cerrap* 24. 18; *gecyþæþ* 26. 73; kenneþ 1. 21. 23; *depið* 3. 11; 26. 23; dyppeþ 3. 11; ge-

*dælaþ* 24. 51; *doemeð* 12. 18; *advæset* 12. 20; *ondeteþ* 10. 32; *afælleþ* 18. 6. 8; *fylgeþ* 10. 38; *foedeþ* 6. 26; *gehæreþ* 13. 20 etc. (7); -*að* 12. 19; 18. 17 (2); 13. 19; *gehæleþ* 1. 21; *ahydeþ* 13. 44; *hyngriþ* 5. 6; *gehnyscet* 21. 44; *genægeþ* 23. 12; *læreþ* 5. 19 (2); *lædeþ* 5. 32 etc. (5); -*aþ* 19. 9; *liorað* 17. 20; *gelioreþ* 5. 18; *geleoreþ* 5. 18; -*aþ* 24. 34; *toleseþ* 5. 19; *gemoeteþ* 16. 25 etc. (5); *nemneþ* 22. 43. 45; *regneþ* 5. 45; *hræfnað* 6. 24; *sendeþ* 12. 20 etc. (4); *stenceþ* 12. 30; *wenaþ* 24. 50; *awerdað* 5. 13; *irreg. vbs.*, *bygiþ* 13. 44 (2); *ræceþ* 7. 9. 10; *ræccet* 2. 6; *soeceþ* 7. 8; 16. 4; -*aþ* 2. 13; -*et* 12. 39; *seleþ* 16. 26 etc. (3); with syn. *selð* 23. 20; *selleþ* 7. 11; 25. 29; -*aþ* 10. 21; 13. 44; 23. 18; 26. 23. 46; 5. 25; *þynceþ* 17. 25 etc. (3); *ðineþ* 18. 12; *wyrceþ* 7. 17 etc. (6); *wærgað* 5. 11; *neoliceþ* 3. 2 etc. (4); -*et* 4. 17; *herweþ* 6. 24; *eaweþ* 24. 27. 30 (cf. Siev., § 408. 2); *cægeþ* 15. 23; (-*ep* 73, -*aþ* 25, *iþ* 5, -*et* 5, -*æþ* 1, syncope 1). Cl. II., *ariað* 15. 6; *gearweþ* 11. 10; -*aþ* 6. 30; *eardaþ* 23. 21; *aet-clifað* 19. 5; *clænsaþ* 3. 12; *cliopap* 12. 19 etc. (2); *acolaþ* 24. 12; *eadmedaþ* 18. 4; *hefalsalp* 9. 3; *endeþ* 28. 20; *corsaþ* 5. 22; 18. 21; *hateþ* 6. 24; *halgap* 23. 17; *hongað* 22. 40; *lufað* 10. 37 etc. (3); *genyhtsumaþ* 24. 12 etc. (3); *niðrað* 12. 42; *readaþ* 16. 3; *ascadeþ* 25. 32; *asmoraþ* 13. 22; *somnaþ* 12. 30 etc. (3); *sorgaþ* 6. 34; &*swareþ* 25. 45; *æswiceþ* 18. 9; *getimbrað* 27. 40; *bepearfað* 16. 26; *beþærfeþ* 5. 29. 30; 15. 5; 18. 6; 19. 10; *apirostraþ* 24. 29; *þrowað* 13. 21; 17. 15; -*iaþ* (infl. of pl.) 11. 12; 16. 26; *weorðaþ* 15. 8; *þurhwunap* 10. 22; 24. 13; (-*aþ* 35, -*iaþ* 3, -*ep* 11, -*æþ* 1, -*ep* 1). Cl. III., *hæfeþ* 9. 6; 13. 21. 44; -*aþ* 11. 18; *hefæþ* 5. 32; *hæfð* 1. 23; 13. 12 (3); 25. 28; *næfð* 8. 20; *næfeþ* 25. 29; *sægeþ* 12. 18; *leofaþ* 9. 18; *fiað* 6. 24; (-*ep* 5, -*æþ* 2, -*aþ* 1, syncope 6). Note 1. In the 3. per., as well as the 2., this class has assumed (with one exception) the endings of Cl. I., and therefore conforms to that class throughout the pres. ind. contrary to WS. usage (cf. the imp. sg. § 29). Note 2. For certain cases of pres. 3. sg. in -*e* etc. see § 27, and cf. Lindelöf p. 76 ff.

§ 26. The plural pres. ind. The regular ending for the three persons in WS. or Kt. is -*að* (-ad, -at), often -*e* before the pronouns *we*, *ge*, (cf. Siev., § 360); weak vbs., Cl. II., have -*i(g)að*, (cf. Siev., § 414; Cosijn, II., p. 179 ff.). The Ps. has -*að*, resp. -*iað* (Cl. II. wk.), (cf. Zeuner, p. 95). Rit. has -*að* (-*eð*), less commonly -*as* (-*es*); in Cl. II. wk., -*i(g)að* (-*að* 2, -*eð* 1), less often -*as* (-*ias* 1); farther a considerable number of forms in -*a*, or -*e*, probably ind., but doubtful, (cf. Lindelöf pp. 77, 78).

R' has these endings: (st. vbs., and Cls. I. and III. wk.),

-aþ (ð) 153, -eþ (ð) 30, -æþ 2, -e 1, contr. forms 23; (Cl. II. wk.) -igaþ (ð) 20, -igæþ 1, -iaþ 5, -aþ 6, -eþ 2, -æþ 1, -at 1, contr. vb. 1.

These are the forms in R': a) strong verbs:

Cl. I., arisaþ 24. 11 etc. (4); -eþ 10. 21; gerisaþ 11. 12; astigað 20. 18; ripath 6. 26; scinaþ 13. 43; besmitaþ 15. 20 (2); on-wreop 16. 17; (-aþ 10, -eþ 1, contr. 1). Cl. II., geotaþ 9. 17 (2); hreoweþ 15. 32; gelucaþ 23. 13; fleop 24. 16; fleaþ 23. 33; (-aþ 3, -eþ 1, contr. 2). Cl. III., drincaþ 6. 31; spinnaþ 6. 28; winnaþ 6. 28; 11. 28; bindaþ 18. 18 (2); 23. 4; swingaþ 10. 17; 23. 34; adelfaþ 6. 19. 20; geweorþað 24. 34; for- 8. 25 etc. (4); awyrpeþ 12. 27; tobersteþ 9. 17; (h) weorfþaþ 6. 16; beornað 5. 15; -spurnaþ 24. 10; (-aþ 19, -eþ 2). Cl. IV., cumaþ 9. 15 etc. (5); cymeþ 23. 36; 7. 14; nimaþ 19. 11; niomaþ 26. 52; forstelaþ 6. 19. 20; (-aþ 9, -eþ 2). Cl. V., cweþað 17. 10 etc. (5); cwæþað 11. 18 etc. (5); cweoþaþ 16. 13 etc. (4); etaþ 6. 19 etc. (6); ageofað 21. 41; 12. 36; ongetaþ 13. 51 etc. (7); ongeotaþ 13. 13; begetaþ 5. 7; metaþ 7. 2; gesprecaþ 10. 20; geseoþ 24. 2 etc. (13); ġeseaþ 13. 14; 24. 30; geseeþ 11. 5; biddaþ 7. 11 etc. (3); bidap 20. 22; sittap 26. 36; ge- 5. 5 etc. (3); (aþ 41, contr. vbs. 16). Cl. VI., slæhp 24. 9; ofslægp 17. 23; ofslæþ 23. 34; stondep 20. 7; -aþ 12. 47; ahebbap 4. 6; waexaþ 6. 28; thuað 15. 2; (-aþ 3, -eþ 1, contr. 4). Red. vbs., ondfcoð 21. 22; foað 17. 25; onfoeþ 23. 14; hoaþ 23. 34; letaþ 23. 13; for- 18. 35; -eð 6. 14 (2). 15 (2); gangaþ 11. 5 etc. (3); falleþ 15. 27; 24. 29; saweð 6. 26; ondredaþ 21. 26; wepaþ 24. 30; asceadeþ 13. 49; (-aþ 7, -eþ 8, contr. 4).

b) Weak verbs:

Cl. I., settaþ 5. 15; -eþ 23. 4; wemmaþ 12. 5; bergaþ 16. 28; brædaþ 23. 5; cwelmaþ 10. 21; doemeþ 7. 2; 20. 19; oehtaþ 23. 34; fæstaþ 9. 14 (2); geherað 13. 14 etc. (6); hæmeþ 22. 30; halettaþ 5. 47; hyhtaþ 12. 21; forlæræþ 24. 5; -eþ 24. 11; gelefþ 9. 28; 18. 6; -æþ 27. 42; leorað 24. 35 (2); toleseþ 5. 19; moetaþ 7. 7. 14; -eþ 2. 8; 21. 2; 11. 29; nemnaþ 1. 23; restap 8. 20; sendaþ 13. 50; ðyrsteþ 5. 6; woenaþ 6. 7; sellaþ 24. 9 etc. (6); -eþ 10. 19; gesoecaþ 28. 5; soeceaþ 6. 32; getæceaþ 28. 14; pencaþ 9. 4; 16. 8; wyrcap 7. 23; 23. 5; eaweþ 23. 27. 28; scyaþ 28. 14; (-aþ 38, -eþ 15, -æþ 2). Cl. II., clænsigaþ 23. 25; costigað 22. 18; dwaligað 22. 29; eardigaþ 12. 45; 13. 32; ge-endigaþ 10. 23; frætwæþ 23. 29; hateþ 5. 44; hleoniþ 8. 11; lufigaþ 5. 46 etc. (4); tokigæþ 27. 24; micclap 23. 5; myngað 16. 9; niðrigað 12. 41; reordap 12. 5; hreordeþ 12. 3; somniaþ 6. 26; somnigap 7. 16 etc. (3); gesomnaþ 24. 31; gescawað 5. 8; sorgiaþ 6. 28; scyldigat 6. 12; &swærigaþ 25. 37 etc. (2); ofer-swiðiaþ

16. 18; *timbraþ* 23. 29; *tægþigaþ* 23. 23; *twigaþ* 21. 21; *geþafigaþ* 18. 19; *prowigaþ* 26. 31; *prowiaþ* 5. 10; *warniaþ* 16. 6; (for list of endings see above). Cl. III., *habbaþ* 27. 65 etc. (11); *nabbaþ* 14. 16. 17; 15. 32; *habbe* we 21. 38 (cf. Siev. § 360. n.); *fiegap* 24. 10; *lifgaþ* 4. 4; *sæcgaþ* 17. 9 etc. (4); *secgaþ* 11. 5; *sægeþ* 23. 3; 27. 13; (-aþ 23, -e 1). Note 1. In the above collection of examples (both sg. and pl.), -að, -aþ etc. in forms otherwise the same are reckoned together. An estimate of the relative frequency of final þ and ð in verbs may be found in § 19. Note 2. For certain cases of pl. pres. ind. in -en, -an, -e etc. see § 28, and cf. Lindelöf, p. 78 ff.

§ 27. The singular pres. opt. The WS. ending is -e (anciently -æ); for Cl. II. wk., -i(g)e, (cf. Siev., §§ 361, 414; Cosijn, pp. 123, 181). The Ps. has -e, resp. -ie (Cl. II. wk.), once -ae, (cf. Zeuner, p. 96). In Rit. the st. vbs. and Cl. I. wk. have -e and -a; Cl. II. (and III), -ia, -iga (-age 2, -ega 1, -ege 1, etc.), (cf. Lindelöf, pp. 79, 80).

R' has the endings: (st. vbs. and Cls. I. and III. wk.) -e 79, -æ 7, e 3, -a 2, contr. vbs. 2; (Cl. II. wk.) -ige 6, -igæ 1, -e 2.

In R' the opt. pres. is often used to translate the Lat. fut., fut. perf., and sometimes even the pres. ind. (cf. Rit., Lindelöf, p. 76 ff.). The sentence is then usually conditional, or begins with seþe (qui) = whoever. Where necessary the Lat. verb will be given.

The following forms occur: a) In strong verbs:

Cl. I., *arisæ* 17. 9; *astigæ* 27. 42; *gehrine* (si tetigerō) 9. 21 (this may be ind. as well). Cl. II., *forleose* 16. 25; (*perdet*) 10. 39; (*h)reuwe* 18. 10. Cl. III., *drince* 26. 42; *finde* 18. 13; *worþe* 6. 10; *ge-* 5. 18; 18. 19; -æ 23. 26; *worðe* 5. 29; 18. 14; *ge-* 8. 13; 9. 29; 15. 28; *worþe* 5. 30; *werþe* 24. 20; *worþe* 15. 26; *awearpa* 8. 31; *ut-wyrpe* (si eicio) 12. 27. 28 (may be ind.); *worfe* 10. 13; &*spurne* 4. 6. Cl. IV., *cyme* 10. 13; 8. 9; *cume* 6. 10; 10. 23; 27. 49; *nime* 19. 12; *ge-* 15. 26; *bere* 16. 24. Cl. V., *cwæþe* (*dixerit*) 5. 22; 21. 3; *agefe* 5. 26; &*gete* 24. 15; *bidde* (*petit*) 5. 42; (*petierit*) 7. 9; *ge-(orabis)* 6. 6; 4. 10; (*adorem*) 2. 8; *liegæ* 5. 32. Cl. VI., &*sæcæ* 16. 24; *slæ* (*percusserit*) 5. 39; *stonde* 18. 16; *swærigæ* (*iuraveris*) 5. 36. Red. vbs., *fœ* 22. 24; *onfoiæ* 1. 20; *forlete* 27. 17; -æ (*dimiserit*) 5. 31; *rædæ* (*legit*) 24. 15; *sceade* 19. 6.

b) In weak verbs:

Cl. I., *fremme* 19. 18; *fælle* (*scandalizat*) 5. 29. 30; *pu fæste* (*ieiunas*) 6. 17; *gecerre* 10. 13; *gehære* 11. 15; 13. 9; *gehoære* 13. 43; *þæmme* 19. 10; *ahêlde* 8. 20; *forlære* 24. 4; *leore* 26. 39; *lihte* 5. 15.

16; se þe gemoete (qui invenit) 10. 39; nede (angarizauerit) 5. 41; sende 9. 38; gestreone 16. 26; selle 5. 25. 31. 36; 24. 45; (exibebit) 26. 53; wirce (facies) 6. 2; þynce (videtur) 25. 29; ð- 21. 28; -æ 22. 17; wæcce 22. 24; wærge (maledixerit) 15. 4; þu bringa (offerris) 5. 23. Cl. II., ðewige (seruies) 4. 10; lufige (dileges) 19. 19; gedwalige (errauerit) 18. 12; firnige (peccauerit) 18. 15; syngige (id.) 18. 15; genihtsumige (habundauerit) 5. 20; nyht-sumigæ 25. 9; folge 16. 24; getriowe 27. 43. Cl. III., hæbbe 5. 23 etc. (5); (habet) 11. 15; 13. 9. 43; gefreoge 27. 43. 49; sæcge (dixeris) 8. 4; (-it) 24. 23; (dices) 19. 18.

§ 28. The plural pres. opt. The ending in WS. is *-en* (*-e*), *-an*, (anciently *-æn*), later *-on* (*-un*), (cf. Siev., § 361; Cosijn, II., § 77); Cl. II. wk., *-i(g)en*, etc., (cf. Siev., § 414). The Ps. has *-en* (resp. *-ien*), (cf. Zeuner, p. 96). In Rit. final *-n* is lost and the pl. becomes like the sg.; the vowel is *-e*, *-a*, *-æ*, (seldom *-o*, *-u*); Cl. II. wk., *-ia*, *-iga*, etc. (cf. Lindelöf, p. 80).

In R' *-n* is lost 23 times, preserved 22 times. The endings are: (st. vbs. and Cls. I. and III. wk.) *-an* 14, *-en* 5, *-on* 1, *-e* 12, *-æ* 2, (contr. forms) *-n* 1, *-n* lost 2; (Cl. II. wk.) *-igæ* 5. *igæ* 2, *-an* 1. In a few cases *-en* (*-an*) appears to stand for *-ap*, pres. ind. pl. The following forms occur:

a) In strong verbs:

Cl. I., *toslite* 7. 6; Cl. II., *alucæ* 13. 29. Cl. III., *git drincan* (bibitis) 20. 23 (cf. fallen, *cypan*, etc. below); *gewærþe* 4. 3. Cl. IV., *cuman* 27. 64; *cweopan* 23. 39; *cwæpan* 5. 11; *gecwæðe* (dixeritis) 21. 21; *for-stælan* 27. 64. Cl. V., *etan* 6. 25; *on-geton* 13. 15; *sprece* 10. 19; *-an* 10. 19; *tredan* 7. 6; *geseo* 13. 15; 16. 28; *geseon* 5. 16; *ponne ge bidde eow* (cum oratis) 6. 5 (perhaps ind., cf. Lindelöf, p. 78); *biddan* 6. 8; *ge-* 18. 19. Cl. VI., *wið-stonde* 5. 39; *swerge* 5. 34. Red. vbs., *gangan* 26. 41; 28. 10; *gehalden* 4. 6; fallen (cadunt) 15. 14; *swa swa we forleten* (sicut nos remittimus) 6. 12. The reason for the opt. in these last two cases is not clear (cf. also *cypan*, *faesten*, below); these seem to be early examples of the „extension“ of *-en* to the pres. ind. pl., which afterwards became „the characteristic feature of the Midland verb“, (cf. Sweet, New Eng. Gr. § 1230).

b) In weak verbs:

Cl. I., *cypan* (testificantur) 26. 62; *faesten* (cum ieunatis) 6. 16, the scribe may have mistaken the Lat.; (ieunabunt) 9. 15; *geheran* 13. 15; *moete* 22. 9; *gehreorde* 15. 33; *gebycge* 14. 15; *gewyrce we* (faciamus) 17. 4; (cf. Siev., § 360, n.) Cl. II., (cwedun him wiltu we

gæn &) gesomnige (dixerunt ei uis imus et colligimus) 13. 28; *iarwan* 26. 17; gearwige 6. 25; *geinefulligæ* 17. 27; *þrowige* 26. 33; *sorgige* 6. 25; *geteorige* 15. 32; *wuldrigæ* 5. 16. Cl. III., *sæcge* (dixerint) 24. 26; (pæm pe eowic hateþ *vel*) *fiegæ* (his qui oderunt vos) 5. 44, here the form should be ind. like *hateþ* (cf. several such forms in Rit., Lindelöf p. 78).

§ 29. The singular imperative. In WS. st. vbs. (except short stems in -jo-) and wk. vbs. Cl. I., with long stems, have no ending; but short stems (st. vbs. in -jo-, and Cl. I. wk.) end in -e (older -i); wk. vbs. Cls. II. and III. have -a (cf. Siev., § 362, § 410. 3, § 414, etc.). The Ps. agrees with WS., (cf. Zeuner p. 96 ff.). In Rit. st. vbs. in -jo- and Cl. I. wk. (short stems) often have no ending but forms with -e also occur; Cl. II. wk. usually has -a (once, -e), but in some cases a special North. ending, -ig; a few forms (anal. of st. vbs.) are without ending, (cf. Lindelöf, p. 81 ff., and Siev., § 372, n.).

R' agrees with Rit. in having some forms (short stems, st. vbs. in -jo-, and wk. I.) without final -e; conversely at least 2 long stems (wk. I.) have -e; wk. vbs. Cl. II. have: -a 13, -e 9, -æ 1; wk. vbs. Cl. III. have -e 4, wanting 1, (Cl. III. has therefore taken the endings of Cl. I. wk. throughout, cf. above, § 25, note).

The following forms occur: a) strong verbs:

Cl. I., aris 2. 13 etc. (4); astig 27. 40; abid 7. 4; 27. 49; gewit 17. 20. Cl. II., fleoh 2. 13; atech 18. 9. Cl. III., aceorf 5. 30; (miswritten) asceorf 18. 8; weorp 18. 8; a- 5. 30; 18. 9; wearp 21. 21; awerp 5. 29. Cl., IV., cum 14. 29; cym 9. 18; 19. 21; genim 9. 6 etc. (7). Cl. V., gecwep 8. 8; cwæp 20. 21; ge- 4. 3; gef 20. 8; a- 5. 33; 18. 28; beseoh 18. 10; gesech 8. 4; bidde 6. 6; lige 5. 27; site 22. 44. Cl. VI., slag 5. 21; þwah 6. 17; fær 2. 20; hef (without -e) 21. 21; also *swer* 5. 33. Red. vbs., blau 6. 2; ondrēd 1. 20; onfōh 1. 20; gang 16. 23 etc. (5); hald 19. 17; hat 14. 28; 27. 64; lēt 3. 15; forlet 8. 22 etc. (5); kēt 8. 21; gelaet 6. 13.

b) weak verbs:

Cl. I., gesette 9. 18; apene 12. 13; gecer 26. 52; *fylge* (infl. of folga, Cl. II.) 8. 22; -æ (alt. in MS., folgæ to *fylgæ*) 9. 9; hæl 8. 25; 27. 40; ge- 21. 9. 15; hæl 14. 30; leor (transi) 17. 20; *gelese* 6. 18; send 4. 6 etc. (3); ontyn 17. 27; 25. 11; betun (= -tyn?) 6. 6; sele

14. 8; 5. 42; selle 17. 27; 19. 21; (prob. opt.) 5. 36; sylle 19. 21; with loss of -e, sel 5. 39; 6. 11; bebycge 19. 21; breng 8. 4; arecce 13. 36; 15. 15; wyrc 21. 28; æteaw 8. 4; cege 20. 8 (the Ps. has gece, cf. Zeuner, p. 97; Lindis. has ceig). Cl. II., ahloca 5. 29; 18. 9; are 15. 4; 19. 19; geclænsa 23. 26; costa 4. 7; folga 19. 21; fultume 15. 25; hate 5. 43; locæ 27. 4; lufa 5. 43; 22. 37. 39; miltsa 9. 27 etc. (3); ge- 20. 31; miltse 17. 15; smere 6. 17; getreowe 9. 2; -treuwe 9. 22; preata 18. 15; geþinge 5. 24. Cl. III., hæfe 18. 26. 29; sæge 24. 3; sæcge 18. 17; sæg (with loss of -e) 22. 17; (4 forms with -e, like Cl. I.).

§. 30. The plural imperative. In OE. the 2d pl. imp. is just like the pl. pres. ind (s. § 26 above). There is also a 1st per. pl. (not common) in -an, (cf. Siev., § 362). The Ps. is normal (cf. Zeuner, p. 97). Rit. shows the same interchange of -að, -eð, -as, -es as in the pl. pres. ind., (cf. Lindelöf, p. 82).

R' has these endings: (st. vbs., and wk., Cls. I. and III.), -aþð 72, -eþð 30, -æþ 3, eþ 1, contr. vbs. 8, -e 1, -a 1, -an (1st. pl.) 1 (?) ; (wk., Cl. II.) -igaþð 11, -igæþ 2, igaeþ 1, -iað 3, -að 4, -ige 1. These forms occur:

a) strong verbs:

Cl. I., abideþ 26. 38; arisaþ 17. 7; 26. 46; gewitaþ 9. 24 etc. (3). Cl. II., fleoþ 10. 23; (ne wernað vel) forbeode (nolite prohibere) 19. 14. Cl. III., drincaþ 26. 27; gebindap 22. 13; -eþ 13. 30; bergaþ 16. 11; weorpað 25. 30; 10. 8; gewearpaþ 7. 6. Cl. IV., cumaþ 4. 19 etc. (3); -eþ 11. 28; cymeþ 21. 38; 25. 34; nimap 11. 29; ge- 25. 28; -eþ 26. 48. Cl. V., cwæfaþ 10. 27; cwæþað 26. 18; etæþ 26. 26; ageofaþ 22. 21; ongeteþ 15. 10; gefeaþ 5. 12; geseoþ 6. 26; 28. 6; gesedeþ 24. 4. 6; -sædeþ 9. 30; biddaþ 7. 7; 9. 38; ge- 5. 44 etc. (3); gesittað 25. 34; 26. 36. Cl. VI., færeþ 11. 3; ascakeþ 10. 14. Red. vbs., ondredeþ 28. 10; -aþ 10. 26 etc. (4); ond- fôþ 26. 26; gangaþ 28. 7; ion-gap 10. 5; gangan (1st per, or inf.?) 26. 46; haldeþ 23. 3; 27. 65; be- 6. 1. 26; 7. 15; 10. 17; behealdeþ 16. 6; letëþ 13. 30; 19. 14; for- 15. 14; slepað 26. 45.

b) weak verbs:

Cl. I., cnyssaþ 7. 7; cyþaþ 11. 4; doemeþ 7. 1; gefyllaþ 23. 32; geherað 13. 18 etc. (4); hæleþ 10. 8; hydeþ 6. 19. 20; haleteþ 10. 12; læreþ 28. 19; ledaþ 21. 2; lefað 24. 26; ge- 24. 23; nemnaþ 23. 9; restæþ 26. 45; sendeþ 22. 13; unsæleþ 21. 2; wenaþ 5. 17; 10. 34; sellaþ 25. 8 etc. (3); ge- 10. 8; sella heom ge 14. 16; wyrciþ 12. 33 (2); wircaþ 3. 3; wernað 19. 14; gebycgæþ 25. 9; pencaþ 10. 19; soecaþ 6. 33;

wæccaþ 26. 38; 24. 42; -eþ 10. 8; 26. 41; wæcep 25. 13; bringaþ 17. 17; ge- 14. 18; eawað 22. 19. Cl. II., ahsiað 2. 8; ahsigaþ 10. 11; geblissiað 5. 12; bodigað 10. 7. 27; clænsigær 10. 8; cliopað 22. 9; forhtaþ 14. 27; -igaþ 10. 31; ne forhtige eow 28. 5; gearwigað 3. 3; leorniað 11. 29; leornaþ 24. 32; geleornigap 9. 13; lufigaþ 5. 44; sceawigap 6. 28; gesomnigap 13. 30; -aþ 13. 30; sorgigaþ 6. 34; -aeþ 6. 31; warnaþ 16. 12; wynigaþ 10. 11. Cl. III., habbaþ 11. 29; 14. 27; sæcgaþ 21. 5 etc. (8); sœcgaþ 11. 3.

### § 31. The uninflected infinitive.

The regular WS. ending is *-an* (rarely *-a*, older texts less commonly *-on*); wk. vbs., Cl. II., *-i(g)an*, (cf. Siev., §§ 363, 414; Cosijn, II., § 69). The Ps. has *-an* (resp. *-ian*), (cf. Zeuner, p. 97). In Rit. final *n* of the infin. suffers apocope in all cases; the ending is *-a*, seldom *-e*, (resp. *-ia*, *-iga*), (cf. Lindelöf, p. 82).

In R' *-n* is preserved 94 (96?) times, lost 25 times. The endings are: (st. vbs. and Cls. I. and III. wk.) *-an* 78 (80?), *-en* 5, *-on* 1, *-un* 1, *-e* 17, *-ige* 1, *-a* 3, *-æ* 1, contr. vbs. *-n* 9, *-n* lost 3; (wk. vbs., Cl. II.) *-igan* 4, *-ian* 2, *-an* 1, *-ige* 5, *-iga* 1, *-a* 1, *-e* 1.

These forms occur:

a) Strong verbs:  
 Cl. I., arisan 16. 21; astigan 14. 22; æt-witan 11. 20; æthrinan 14. 36; onwigan (s. § 23) 11. 27; hriopan 12. 1; geflitan 5. 40. Cl. III., drin-can 20. 22 etc. (7); sincan 14. 30; sweltan 26. 35; delfan 24. 43; geweorðan 20. 26; weorþan 24. 6; aweorpan 17. 19; to- 26. 61; awearpe 7. 5; to-bregdan 12. 29. Cl. IV., cuman 22. 3 etc. (4); cumē 11. 14; 14. 28; 16. 24; nioman 19. 12; ge- 5. 40; nioma 5. 42; beoran 7. 18 (2). Cl. V., cweþan 4. 17 etc. (4); etan 14. 16 etc. (3); ete 15. 20; ageofan 27. 58; sprecan 12. 34; spreocan 6. 7; geseon 12. 38; 13. 17; hwute geseon (1st imp.?) 27. 49; biddan 26. 53; ge- 14. 23; gebidde 6. 5; forlicgan 5. 28; gesítan 14. 19; sitte 20. 23. Cl. VI., slān 24. 49; ofslān 21. 38; ofslean 12. 14; 14. 5; ofslāan 10. 28; ofslāan 10. 28; sla 10. 28; stonde 6. 5; swerige 26. 74; wexan 13. 30; faran 8. 28; færar 2. 22; 16. 21. Red. vbs., on foon 20. 10; and foa 11. 14; onfo 10. 14; letan 24. 43; for- 19. 3. 8; 23. 23; -en 1. 19; -e 15. 32; gangan 2. 22 etc. (3); (1st. imp.?) 26. 46; ingangen 23. 13; gehaldan 27. 64; wêpan 9. 15; heawan 14. 2; gecnawan 16. 3.

b) weak verbs:

Cl. I., styrgan 23. 4; bebyrgen 8. 21. 22; doeme 16. 3; ge- 16. 3; ætece 6. 27; gefyllan 3. 15; feran 8. 18; forðfere 14. 22; heran 10. 14;

*gehera* 13. 17; *gehælen* 17. 16; *ge-hælun* 27. 42; *hælon* 12. 10; *lærان* 4. 17; *gelaede* 6. 13; *leoran* 26. 42; *nemnan* 23. 10; *sende* 27. 6; *ge-andwyrdan* 22. 46; *wendan* 12. 44; *sellan* 20. 14 etc. (5); *gewirce* 5. 36; *bycgan* 25. 10; *be-* 18. 25; *bycgæ* 20. 1; *soece* 18. 12; *awæccan* 3. 9; 26. 40; *eawan* 16. 21; *cegan* 22. 3. Cl. II., *geascigan* 22. 46; *gelclensige* 8. 2; *-clæn-* 8. 3; *folgian* 8. 19; *fretwan* 25. 7; *monige* 18. 23. 24; *gesomnian* 23. 37; *stalle* 6. 5; *tinterga* (= *trega*) 8. 29; *ðeo-wigań* 6. 24; *-ige* 6. 24; *prowigan* 27. 31; *ge-* 16. 21; *&ustriga* 26. 74. Cl. III., *secgan* 28. 8; *ðreiga* 16. 22.

§ 32. The inflected infin. The WS. ending is *-anne*, older *-enne* (-ene), *-onne*, (rarely *-an*); Cl. II., wk., of course, *-ianne* etc. (cf. Siev., § 363; Cosijn, II., § 70 and p. 178). The Ps. has *-enne* (occasionally *-ende*); *-i* is sometimes wanting in Cl. II., wk. (cf. Zeuner, p. 97 ff.; § 53. 1). Rit. has *-anne*, sometimes *-enne*, (cf. Lindelöf, p. 82 ff.).

R' has the endings: *-anne* 18, *-ane* 5, *-enne* 11, *-ene* 6, (contr. vbs.) *-nne* 5, *-ne* 1; (Cl. II. wk. is without *-i-* and so is not distinguished from other classes).

The forms are: a) strong verbs:

Cl. III., *swinganne* 20. 19; *beornane* 13. 30. Cl. IV., *cumene* 24. 48; *niomane* 15. 33; *nimene* 24. 18; *genimanne* 24. 17; *beranne* 3. 11; *breccane* 5. 17; *brecanne* 5. 17. Cl. V., *cwepane* 9. 5; *gecwepanne* 9. 5; *etanne* 12. 4; 26. 17; *seenne* 11. 9; *ge-* 11. 8; *geseonne* 11. 8; *gebiddenne* 2. 2; *-anne* 20. 20. Cl. VI., *ofslæanne* 2. 13. Red. vbs., *to fône* 26. 55; *hóanne* 20. 19; *forletenne* 9. 6; *gangenne* 14. 16; *-ene* 19. 24; *sawenne* 13. 3; *healdene* 28. 20; *be-* 16. 12; *sceadenne* 10. 35.

b) weak verbs:

Cl. I., *bebryggenne* 26. 12; 27. 7; *cyþenne* 1. R.; *delanne* 10. 35; *gefyllenne* 5. 17; *geheranne* 12. 42; *gehælanne* 18. 11; *lædenne* 5. 41; *lioranne* 19. 24; *sendanne* 10. 34; *sellanne* 20. 23; *-ane* 22. 17; *ce-ganne* 9. 13. Cl. II., *bismere* 20. 19; *ferganne* 5. 41; *to gitsanne* (*vel forliegan*) 5. 28; *sceawenne* 28. 1. Cl. III., *habbanne* 14. 4.

§ 33. The present participle. The regular ending in OE. is *-ende* (older *-ændi*, seldom *-indî*), rarely *-onde*, (cf. Siev., § 363. 2); wk. vbs., Cl. II., have *-i(g)ende* (cf. Cosijn, II., p. 181). The Ps. has *-ende* (-ænde 1), *-onde* (only in contr. vbs.); in Cl. II., wk., *-i-* is sometimes wanting, (cf. Zeuner, p. 98 and § 53. 1). The normal ending in Rit. is

*-ende* (-ænde 3); *-ande* is »etwas häufiger« in verbs of Cl. II. wk., and in certain contr. vbs.

R' has the endings: (st. vbs. and Cls. I. and III. wk.)  
*-ende* 331, (-e 1, -æ 1, -ae 1, -a 1, -es 1, -u 3, -um 6, -ra 4, -re 1, -end 2), *-ande* 11, (-ne 1), -ænde 4, (contr. vbs.)  
*-ende* 6. (-e 1), -onde 4, -ænde 1; (wk. vbs., Cl. II.) -ende 18, (-es 1, -u 1, -um 1), -ande 3, -ænde 1, -iende 1, -igende 1; (it is to be noted that -i-, -ig- appear in this class but once each in a total of 27).

These forms occur. a) strong verbs:

Cl. I., arisesende 2. 14 etc. (5); *risænde* (rapaces) 7. 15; -stigende 9. 1 etc. (5); -um 17. 9; -ne 3. 16; *asiende* (excolantes) 23. 24. Cl. II., upp-teonde 13. 48; sukendra 21. 16. Cl. III., drincende 11. 18 etc. (3); -*ande* 11. 19; 20. 22; grindende 24. 41; ingingende (incipiens) 20. 8 (error of scribe); eornende 28. 8; beornende 13. 42; *swelygande* 11. 19. Cl. IV., cumende 8. 2 etc. (22); cymende 2. 8 etc. (3); -e 16. 28; nednimende 23. 25; genim- 16. 22 etc. (6); -ænde 25. 3. Cl. V., cwæþende 19. 3 etc. (56); cwæþ- 18. 1 etc. (3); cwæð- 18. 26 etc. (3); cwæþ- 28. 9 etc. (55); -endum 22. 31; etende 24. 38 etc. (4); -ra 14. 21; -u(m) 26. 21; ongetende 14. 35; 22. 18; sprecende 9. 33 etc. (3); geseonde 8. 18 etc. (3); *geseende* 5. 1; 8. 34; 9. 2. 4; 13. 13. 14; geseænde 2. 10; biddende 9. 28 etc. (3); ge- 26. 39; -ae 6. 7; licende 9. 2; licc- 9. 36; licg- 8. 14; sittende 11. 16 etc. (9); -u 22. 11; -um 4. 16; -ra 22. 10. Cl. VI., standende 20. 3. 6; stond- 6. 5 etc. (3); -ra 16. 28; færende 25. 14; hebbende 17. 8; unsceþpende 27. 24 etc. (2). Red. vbs., forletende 13. 36 etc. (7); -re 11. 22; (forletennæ alt. to) -endæ 11. 24; gongende 15. 21 etc. (15); ingang- 23. 13 etc. (4); ut- 8. 32 etc. (7); to- 15. 12. 23; *gangande* 22. 15; *gangande* 15. 31 etc. (7); -ne 14. 26; fallende 4. 9; 2. 11; -fæll- 18. 26. 29; slepende 26. 43 etc. (3); haldende 27. 54; sawendes (sb.) 13. 18; wepende 2. 18.

b) weak verbs:

Cl. I., *cnyssande* 7. 8; fremmende 13. 41; ge- 18. 3; sett- 4. 18; apen- 8. 3 etc. (4); beg- 17. 14; 27. 29; boet- 4. 21; dypp- 28. 19; doem- 19. 28; heht- 5. 11; hoeht- 5. 12; eht- 10. 23; -um 5. 44; oichtende 5. 44; ondent- 3. 6; fylg- 19. 28 etc. (2); -un 8. 10; *fylgænde* 9. 9; föedendum 24. 19; fæstende 6. 18 etc. (3); glendr- 11. 19; 23. 24; hæl- 9. 35 etc. (3); (abrev.) 26. 49 etc. (3); (as sb. oft., see stems in -nd); hem- 24. 38; hoel- 5. 44; hroer- 27. 39; hyngr- 25. 37. 44; ruxl- 9. 23; lær- 15. 9 etc. (5); gelæf- 21. 22; forelior- 27. 39; *gemoetend* (lacks -e, clerical error) 13. 46; sendende 2. 8 etc. (3); -u 26. 12; smikende 12. 20; swænc- 26. 10; woed- 7. 15; wid-

(= wind-) 27. 29; *wærft* 21. 18; *sell-* 21. 12 etc. (5); *-um* 21. 12; *sellend* (lacks *-e*, see above); *bebycgenda(m)* 25. 9; *gebycgende* 21. 12; *soec-* 21. 46 etc. (5); *penc-* 5. 25; 6. 27; *wæc-* 24. 43; *wyrc-* 7. 18; *wircendum* 6. 3; *cegende* 8. 29 etc. (6); *genelecc-* 4. 3. Cl. II., *-i-* is found in *wundriende* 8. 10; *-ig-* in *clipigende* 21. 15; but *clipende* 11. 16. The rest lack *-i-*, *-ig-*: *bifgende* 8. 14; *bod-* 3. 1; 4. 23; *boensendu* 20. 20; *costende* 16. 1; *-ænde* 22. 35; *frohtende* 25. 25; *gærwende* 27. 28; *hlengendes* 26. 7; *locande* 14. 19; *lokende* 19. 26; *milts-* 18. 27; 20. 34; *bismer-* 27. 41; *gesomn-* 13. 29; *sommendum* 13. 47; *spittende* 27. 30; *aewic-* 24. 10; *ondswar-* 3. 15; *-ande* 4. 4; 8. 8; *pægnende* 27. 55; *prow-* 17. 12; *wag-* 12. 20. Cl. III., *hæbbende* 18. 9 etc. (17); *hæb-* 4. 24; *lifg-* 26. 63 (2); *-a* (= *-an*) 16. 16; *-ra* 22. 32.

### The Preterit<sup>1)</sup>.

#### § 34. The singular pret. ind. of strong verbs.

The 1st and 3d sg. have no ending in OE. The 2d sg. ends regularly in *-e* in WS., in Ps., and in Rit.; but certain redup. verbs in Rit. (stems in *-d* and *-t*) have *est* like wk. vbs. (cf. Lindelöf, § 47. 1; also Siev., § 364, n. 2).

R' is normal with exception of the ending *-es* twice in a redup. vb.

##### a) 1st and 3d:

e. g., *rås* 27. 64; *ic geceas* 12. 18; *he bær* 8. 17 etc. (for full list see Tense-formation of strong vbs.).

##### b) 2d per. (all forms):

Cl. I., *onwrigē* 11. 25; Cl. IV., *cwome* 8. 29; 26. 50; Cl. V., *cwæde* 26. 25. 64; *bede* 18. 32; and the redup. verbs: *sewe* 25. 24; *geseowe* 13. 27; *forletes* (dereliquisti) 27. 46 (2).

#### § 35. The plural pret. ind. of strong verbs.

The regular ending in WS. is *-on*, often *-an*, seldom (the older) *-un* (cf. Cosijn, II., § 76; Siev., § 364. 2). The Ps. has 235 *-un*, 16 *-on*, 1 *-an* (cf. Zeuner, § 48. 1). Rit. has regularly *-on* (1 *-an*), (cf. Lindelöf, § 47. 1).

R' has usually *-un*, but also *-on*, *-an*, seldom *-en*; (*-un*

1) For the Preteritive Presents and verbs in *-mi* see §§ 52, 53.

121, -on 55, -an 39, -en 8, -æn 1). Four forms apparently ind. (translating Lat. ind.) have umlaut, which belongs properly to the opt., but is rarely found (cf. Siev., § 377). Four preterits inflected weak occur. These are the forms in R':

Cl. I., arisan 25. 7; -en 27. 52; astigan 14. 32; æthrinan 14. 36; gegrípan 21. 35; -on 21. 39; wreogan 25. 38. 43; wriogan 25. 36; cnidun 21. 35; (æt-, of-) witun 27. 44; 21. 37; (-an 7, -un 3, -on 1, -en 1). Cl. II., gecuron 13. 48; wið-curun 21. 42; flugon 8. 33; -en 26. 56. Cl. III., funden 26. 60; ongunnon 12. 1; in- 25. 7; -un 26. 22; sungan 11. 17; urnon 8. 28; wvrdon 14. 36; -un 14. 20; wurdon 8. 32 etc. (3); -un 15. 37; ge- 18. 31; 27. 54; *wyrdun* (with umlaut, s. § 44) 27. 45; -on 15. 24; also *wyrðon* (without gram. change) 10. 6; and *wyrpon* 7. 22; but wurpon 21. 39; *brustæn* 27. 51; frugnon 22. 23; -un 17. 10; but *frugan* 12. 10, (perhaps a relic of the older conj., cf. Siev., § 389, note); *strægdun* (weak) 21. 8 (2). This vb. is usually weak in WS. prose, (cf. Siev., ibid.); (-on 12, -un 9, -an 2, -æn 1, -en 1). Cl. IV., beron 20. 12; cwomun 19. 3 etc. (3); cuom- 13. 5 etc. (5); com- 25. 11; cwomon 9. 10; cuom- 2. 2 etc. (3); quom- 2. 1; cwoman 4. 11 etc. (7); com- 21. 1 etc. (3); *comen* (uenerant) 20. 9; noman 26. 55; ge- 27. 27 etc. (12); -un 14. 12; 26. 50; -en 15. 37; 28. 9; (-an 23, -un 11, -on 6, -en 3). Cl. V., bedun 15. 23 etc. (5); ge- 2. 11 etc. (4); bedon 16. 1; cwædun 27. 4 etc. (23); cwed- 27. 6 etc. (16); cwædon 2. 5 etc. (4); cwed- 19. 10; etun 15. 37 etc. (3); êton 12. 1; frætun 13. 4; ongetun 21. 45 etc. (3); for- 16. 5; ongeotun 24. 39, (s. I., § 44); ongeton 17. 13; sprecun 26. 47; gefegon 2. 10, (s. I., § 43, b); segon 15. 31; ge- 9. 8 etc. (6); gesægon 12. 2 etc. (4); segun 17. 8 etc. (3); ge- 14. 26 etc. (3); gesægung 20. 34; gesagun 25. 37. 38. 44; setun 23. 2; (-un 69, -on 20). Cl. VI., ahofan 17. 8; slogan 26. 67 etc. (4); of- 22. 6; 23. 35; -an 21. 35. 39; stodun 26. 73; stopen 28. 9; *wexon* (infl. of redup. vbs.) 13. 7, in the same verse Lindis. has *woxon*, Corpus MS. *weoxon*. (-un 7, -an 4, -on 1, -en 1). Red. vbs., blewan 7. 25; *bleowen* 7. 27; dreordun 9. 8; on- 17. 6; &- 21. 46; 19. 25; fellun 7. 25; feallan 15. 30; feollan 17. 6; -un 7. 27; ge- 13. 4; -on 13. 5; *gefetun* (ceciderunt) 13. 7. 8 must be miswritten; fengon 21. 35; 26. 50; on- 10. 8 etc. (7); ond- 17. 24; &- 20. 9; onfengun 6. 2. 5. 16; åhengon 27. 35; heoldun 27. 36; for- letun 23. 23; 4. 22; forleortun 19. 27, (cf. I., § 50. b); reordun 21. 42; h- 22. 31; weopun 11. 17; sleptun (following Cl. I. wk., cf. Siev., § 395, n. 2) 13. 25; 27. 52; *slepade* (Cl. II. wk., with loss of -n) 25. 5; (-un 21, -on 13, -an 3, -en 1, -e 1).

### § 36. The preterit opt. of strong verbs.

The regular ending of the sg. in OE. is *-e*; of the plur., originally *-en*, later *-on*, *-an*, (cf. Siev., § 365). The few forms in Rit. have *-e* (1 *-i*) in the sg., and *-e* with loss of *n* (1 *-on?*) in the pl.

R' has *-e* in the sg., and usually preserves *-n* in the pl. The endings are: *-en* 4, *-an* 4, *-un* 2, *-e* 4. Three forms in the sg. have umlaut (s. § 35). The following forms occur:

a) The sing.:

Cl. III., *wyrðe* (with umlaut and without gram. change) 24. 22; *gewyrde* 26. 5; (*swælte* alt. to) *swylte* 22. 24. Cl. IV., *bere* 27. 32; *cuome* 14. 29; *c(u)ome* 5. 17; *cwome* 10. 34; 23. 39; the gloss in 11. 3, *sepe cwome scalt* (qui venturus es) is an anomaly; *cwome*, as opt. sg., translates the Lat., yet *scalt* is added as if the infin. had been used. Cl. V., *bede* 14. 7; *ge-* 19. 13; *agæfe* 18. 30; *agefe* 18. 25. 34; *gesæge* 22. 11; 26. 58. Red. vbs., *onfenge* 25. 27; *forlete* 19. 7; 27. 15.

b) The pl.:

Cl. II., *flugan* 3. 7. Cl. III., *ut- awurpe* 10. 1. Cl. IV., *noman* 26. 4; *ge-* 21. 46; *genome* 16. 5; *ewomun* (indirect dis.) 28. 13; *forstælen* 28. 13. The last two forms may be considered doubtful; the Lat. has the ind. Cl. V., *abeden* 27. 20; *eweden* 18. 54; *sprece* 12. 46; *gesetun* 15. 35. Cl. VI., *slogan* 27. 20; *of-slogen* 26. 4. Red. vb., *gefenge* 22. 15.

### § 37. The singular pret. ind. of weak verbs.

The usual ending of the 1st and 3d sg. is *-e*; of the 2d sg. *-es(t)*, (cf. Siev., §§ 353, 364). The Ps. has one form in *-a*, one in *-as*, otherwise regularly *-e*, *-es* (212), *-est* (6, all but 1 in *dydest*), (cf. Zeuner, p. 99). Rit. has *-e* (1 *-a*), and *-est* much oftener than *-es*, (cf. Lindelöf, p. 84).

R' has the endings: (1st and 3d) *-e* 287, *-æ* 5, *-ae* 1; (2d sg.) *-est* 6, *-æst* 1, *-es* 1.

a) 1st and 3d:

e. g., Cl. I., *byrede* 12. 4; *gesette* 18. 24 etc.; *foerde* 9. 27 etc.; *gehoerde* 14. 1 etc.; but with *-æ*: *geherdæ* 4. 12; *afeldæ* 21. 12; *fæstæ* 4. 2; *getahðæ* 3. 7; *worhtæ* 25. 16; but *worhte* 13. 58 etc. Cl. II., *clænsade* 11. 5; *folgade* 9. 19 etc.; *licade* 14. 6 etc.; with *-æ*: *biatudæ* 9. 30. Cl. III., *sægde* 13. 31 etc.; *hæfde* 18. 25 etc. For more examples see Tense-formation of weak verbs, § 49–51.

## b) 2d per. (all forms):

Cl. I., *gefylldæst* 21. 16; *gelefdest* 8. 13; *sendest* 25. 27; *stencles* 25. 24 (cf. the pret. pres. *wistes* 25. 26); *saldest* 25. 20. 22. Cl. II., *getwiodesstu* 14. 31, (cf. Siev., § 414. n. 1); *geþingdest* (*conuenisti*) 20. 13 (with syncope of the middle vowel).

## § 38. The plural preterit ind. of weak verbs.

The ending in WS. is the same as for the strong verbs: usually *-on*, often *-an*, seldom *-un*, (cf. § 35 above). The Ps. has in Cl. II., *-un* 54, *-on* 38; in all other wk. preterits (incl. *sindun*), *-un* 223, *-on* 71, *-an* 3, *-en* 1. (cf. Zeuner, p. 99). Rit. has *-on* (1 *-en*), (cf. Lindelöf, p. 84).

In R' *-un* prevails: *-n* is wanting twice and, perhaps, three times. The endings are: *-un* 152, *-on* 17, *-an* 4, *-en* 3, *-e* 3 (?). These forms occur:

Cl. I., *lægdun* 15. 30; *settun* 27. 37; *ge-* 26. 15; 27. 29; (in 22. 34 the form should be *gesette*, opt. sg.); *styredun* 27. 39; *on-bræddon* 21. 7; *bebyrgedun* 14. 12; *cyðdon* 8. 33; *cyddun* 14. 12; *cwiddun* 11. 17; *gedældun* 27. 35; *fylgedun* 19. 2; *fylgendum* (mis-written) 4. 25; *fylgdun* 9. 27; *foerdon* 25. 15; *afyrdun* 19. 12; *foeddan* 25. 37; *geherdun* 11. 4 etc. (12); *-on* 2. 9; *ge-yrdon* 19. 25; *lærdun* 27. 20; *læddon* 26. 57; *-un* 27. 2. 31; *gelefdu* 21. 32 (2); *-an* 21. 25; *gemettun* 22. 10; *gemoettun* 2. 11; 27. 32; *gemērdon* 9. 31; *nemdun* 10. 25; *næddun* 27. 32; *sendun* 13. 48; 14. 35; *-on* 22. 16; *sneddun* 21. 8; *steordon* 19. 13; *stændun* 21. 35; *fortyndon* 13. 15; *ontynden* 2. 11: &*wyrdan* 27. 25; *wendon* 20. 10; *gewendun* 2. 12; *saldun* 13. 8 etc. (11); *ymb-* 27. 28; *salden* 25. 35; *worhtun* 20. 12; *-on* 7. 22; *gebohtun* 27. 7; *-um* (= un) 27. 9; *pohtun* 16. 7; 21. 25; *rohtun* 22. 5; *sohtun* 2. 20; 26. 59; *wehton* 8. 25; *brohtun* 9. 32 etc. (7); *to-* 21. 7; *nealehctun* 21. 1; *ungeredun* (cf. Siev., § 408. 1) 27. 31; *æteawdun* 27. 53; *æteawde* 13. 26; (-*un* 70, *-um* 1, *-on* 12, *-an* 3, *-en* 2, *-e* 1). Cl. II., *absadun* 12. 10; *axsadun* 22. 23; *ascaden* 17. 10; *cleopadun* 20. 31; 21. 9; 27. 23; *cliop-* 14. 26; 20. 30; *drohtadun* 17. 22; *gedwaladun* 18. 13; *hefalsadun* 27. 39; *feormadun* 25. 35. 43; *ge-* 25. 38; *folgadun* 12. 15 etc. (6); *folge-* 4. 20; 8. 1; 14. 13; *frohtadun* 27. 54; *geoldun* (for *geealgodun*) 27. 66; *gearwadun* 26. 19; *gege-* 27. 31; *grornadun* 20. 11; *hatedun* 13. 6; *bleonudun* 14. 9; *hliona-* 9. 10; *gemerkade* (signantes) 27. 66 (it may be mis-written for *-merkande*, but cf. Lindis. gloss in which pres. part. and pret. ind. pl. stand side by side); *micladun* 15. 31; *neosadun* 25. 36. 43; *plagadun* 11. 17; *ge ne reordade* (non legitis) 19. 4; *-adun* 21. 16; *bismeradun* 9. 24; 27. 29. 31; *smoradun* 13. 7; *somnadun* 22. 10;

ge- 13. 2 etc. (4); spittadun 26. 67; (ond-, and-, &-) swaredun 26. 66; 14. 17; 25. 9; -adun 12. 38; swigadun 20. 31; tweodun 28. 17; ðægnadun 4. 11; þegne- 25. 44; geþingadun 20. 2; geþreatadun 19. 18; (*ðreattan* 20. 31 follows Cl. I.); þrowadun 13. 57; wilnadun 13. 17; for-wisnadun 13. 6; witgadun 7. 22; 11. 13; wulradun 9. 8; -wunadun 15. 32; wundradun 7. 28 etc. (9); (-un 71, -an 1, -en 1, -e 2?). Cl. III., hæfdon 21. 21; 14. 34; -un 14. 5 etc. (6); æfdon 8. 33; næfdon 13. 5; nēfdun 13. 6; sægdon 18. 31; -un 8. 33 etc. (4); (-un 11, -on 5).

### § 39. The pret. opt. of weak verbs.

The ending is the same as for the strong verbs: sg., -e; pl., -en, later -on, -an (cf. § 36). The Ps. has -e, -en, (cf. Zeuner, p. 99). Rit. has -e (but borrows -est for the 2d sg.), and wants the pl., (cf. Lindelöf, p. 84).

In R' the sg. ends in -e; the pl. has 5 forms without -n (cf. Siev., § 365. n.), 5 with -n. The pl. endings are: -en 2, -un 2, -on 1, -e 5. The examples are not numerous and some may be doubtful. a) In the sg.:

Cl. I., onsette 19. 13; (the gloss *he gesettun*, impossuisset, 22. 34 seems to be a mistake for the opt. sg.); foerde 20. 30; ferde 8. 34; lærde 11. 1; liorde 8. 34; 20. 30; salde 14. 7; 19. 7; 20. 28; 26. 59; 27. 31; eaude 16. 1. Cl. II., miltsade 18. 33; bodade 11. 1; ðægnade 20. 28.

### b) in the pl.:

Cl. I., *cerdun* 2. 12; in *cwæmdon vel acuste* (accusarent) 12. 10 there is evidently a misunderstanding of the text; *cwæmdon* does not translate the Lat. verb and the glosser, in uncertainty, has formed a new vb., *acuste*, on the basis of the Latin; *hælde* 10. 1; *gelefde* 21. 32; *salden* 27. 1; *eawden* 24. 1. Cl. II., *niðrade* 12. 7; *wunads* 11. 23; *wundradun* 13. 54 may be ind., but cf. *cweden*, same verse and same constr.

## The Past Participle.

### §. 40. The past part. of strong verbs.

The regular ending is -en, rarely -on (-an, -un). There is also usually a prefix *ge-* (older *gi-*), when the verb is not already compounded with a preposition or particle (cf. Siev., § 366; Cosijn, II., § 71). Inflected forms seldom show syn-

cope, (cf. Siev., § 296. n. 2; Eng. ed., n. 1). The Ps. and Rit. are normal, (cf. Zeuner, p. 58; Lindelöf, § 48).

R' has usually *-en* (3 forms lack *n*), seldom *-an*, *-æn*, *-un*; (-en 122, 19 inflected forms incl.; -an 7, -ænæ 1, -un 1, -e 3, inflected forms with syncope 7). Fifty forms, otherwise uncompounded, have the prefix *ge-*, but 25 are without *ge-*. The following occur:

Cl. I., *astigen* 8. 1; *gewitenæ* 2. 13; *gewritten* 4. 6; *awritten* 4. 7 etc. (8); -e 27. 37; *gewrigene* 6. 31; *bewrigenes* 10. 26; *vnuwigan* 10. 26. Cl. II., *gecoren* 20. 16; -*enan* 24. 24; -*enu(m)* 24. 31; -*enum* 24. 22; *gecorænæ* 22. 14; *agoten* 9. 17 etc. (3); *lore* 5. 30; *forloren* 15. 24; *belocen* 25. 10. Cl. III., *druccennu(m)* 24. 49; *unbunde* 16. 19; -*en* 18. 18; *gebunde* 16. 19; -*en* 18. 18; -*ene* (ac. s. m.) 27. 2; *enne* 27. 15. 16; *geswunganne* (ac. s. m.) 27. 26; *urnen* 8. 24; *aswolten* 9. 18; *abolgenne* (pl.) 21. 15; 20. 24; *geworden* 9. 10 etc. (15); *worpen* 5. 13; 14. 24; a- 9. 25; 17. 21; -*ne* 8. 12; *toworpen* 24. 2; *acorfen* 3. 10; 7. 19. Cl. IV., *genumen* 24. 40 etc. (3); *genoman* 27. 59; *gebroken* 21. 44. Cl. V., *cwæden* 5. 21 etc. (7); *ge-* 5. 31; 8. 17; a- 4. 14; 22. 31; -e 26. 30; *cweden* 2. 17 etc. (3); *ge-* 21. 4; 13. 35; a- 2. 23 etc. (4); -*an* 12. 17; *agefen* 12. 13; *agefnæ* (ac. s. f.) 18. 25; *ongeten* 12. 33; *meten* 7. 2; 18. 23; *gesprecan* 12. 36; *tredan* 5. 13; *forlegene* 12. 39; 16. 4. Cl. VI., *ofer-færén* 14. 34; *åhæfen* 11. 23; a- 23. 12; *ofslaegen* 16. 21; -*slægene* 22. 4; *unðwegenu(m)* 15. 20. Red. vbs., *afongan* 4. 12; *gefongnæ* (n. pl. m.) 4. 24; *hongan* 28. 5; a- 18. 6; 26. 2; -*enne* 27. 38. 44; -*agongan* 15. 22; *gégangan* 10. 12; *forlethen* 27. 21 etc. (9); f(or)- 12. 32; *forlethe* 5. 32; 9. 2; -*ae* 9. 5; *haten* 9. 9 etc. (4); *gehalden* 9. 17; *salten* 5. 13; *sawen* (sown) 13. 19 (2); *gesauwen* 13. 20. 22. 23; *aswopen* 12. 44 (cf. Siev., § 397); *eknum* 24. 19.

Note. Instead of the past, pt. of *séon*, forms of an adj., WS. *gesiene*, occur: *gesene* 6. 18; *geseanæ* 6. 1; *gesænæ* 6. 5; 23. 5; *gesænanæ* 6. 16. The form *ge- sægun* 27. 55, gloss to *videntes*, is like the pret. pl. (cf. § 35), but the sense requires the past, pt.

#### § 41. The past part. of weak verbs.

The regular ending of Cl. I. is *-ed*, *-d*, (after certain final cons.) *-t*, (cf. Siev., §§ 402, 406, 407); of Cl. II., (in order of frequency) *-od*, *-ad*, *-ud*, (before back vowels of inflectional endings usually *-ed*), (cf. Siev., § 413; Cosijn II., p. 190); of Cl. III., originally *-d*, later modified by analogy, (cf. Siev., § 416). The prefix *ge-* occurs usually, as in st. vbs., (cf. § 40). The Ps. is normal in general; but Cl. II. has *-ad* (8 *-ed* in inflected forms), and 2 forms with syncope,

(cf. Zeuner, § 53. 2). Rit. shows no special peculiarity; *-ad* (2 *-að*) is the ending in Cl. II., seldom (chiefly uninflected forms) *-ed*, rarely *-od*. The prefix *gi-* is sometimes wanting, (cf. Lindelöf, pp. 85, 98).

R' has the endings: Cl. I., *-ed* 102, *-id* 2, *-ede* 5, *-d* 20, *-de* 28 (-u 1, un 1), *-ad* 4, *-eþ* 2, *-æþ* 1, *-t* 13, *-tæ* 2, *-te* 1; Cl. II., *-ad* 26 (-*ard* 2), *-ade* 7, *-adne* 1, *-adum* 1, *-æd* 1, *-ed* 8, *-ede* 1; Cl. III., *-d* 1. The prefix *ge-* occurs in verbs otherwise uncompounded: Cl. I., (64); Cl. II., (33). *ge-* is wanting: Cl. I., (59); Cl. II., (11); Cl. III., (1).

These forms are found:

Cl. I., *alegd* (with syncope as in WS.) 1. 18; *aseted* 3. 10; 5. 14; 28. 6; *geseted* 8. 9, (as in Rit., cf. Lindelöf, p. 96. a); but *gesett* 5. 1, (as regularly in WS., cf. Cosijn, II., § 117); *styred* 11. 8; 27. 51; *gewemmed* 5. 28; *forberned* 13. 40; *gebyrde* (onerati) 11. 28; *abælgede* 26. 8 preserves the middle vowel, also *ge-cerrede* 13. 15; *akenned* 1. 16 etc. (8); *akende* 19. 12; *frum-kendu* (sb.) 1. 25; *depid* 3. 13; *-ed* 3. 14; *ge-* 3. 16; *gedæled* 12. 25. 26; *gedeled* 12. 25; *doemed* 7. 1; *doemde* 7. 2; *gedrøfed* 2. 3; *gedryfed* 14. 26; *gedræfde* 24. 6; *adwæsced* 25. 8; *geeced* 6. 33; *gefylled* 1. 22 etc. (14); *-ad* 27. 9; *fylde* 15. 37; *befest* (with syn.) 1. 18; *afrred* (auferetur) 9. 15; 13. 12; 21. 43; *afyrred* 25. 29; *afride* (exterriti) 28. 4 seems due to a misunderstanding of the Latin; *afyrde* (eunuchi) 19. 12 (3); *afroefred* 2. 18; *-ede* 5. 4 (as in WS., cf. Siev., § 406); *gehêred* 6. 7; *gehered* 2. 18; *gehoered* 28. 14; *geherde* 15. 12; *gehaeled* 8. 8 etc. (3); *gehæled* 8. 13; *ahyded* 5. 14; *ahyded* 13. 35; *ge-* 13. 44; *hæmde* 22. 30; *gehoêred* 24. 29; *inhroered* 21. 10. 30; *genægeþ* (for *-ed*) 23. 12; *hyngrede* (as in WS.) 12. 1; *gehwerfæþ* 7. 6; *-ad* 16. 23; *mis-werfde* 17. 17; *gelæred* 13. 52; but *for-lærd* (with syn.) 27. 63; *gelærde* (pl.) 28. 15; *læded* 4. 1; *lædde* (ductus) 27. 3 is evidently a mistake; *gelædde* (pl.) 10. 18; 24. 24; *alefed* 12. 2; 14. 4; *alêfed* 12. 12; *læfed* 24. 2; *ge-* 12. 4; *a-* 20. 15; 22. 17; *gemoëted* 1. 18; *gemæred* 28. 15; *gemænged* 27. 34; *nemned* 4. 18 etc. (5); *ge-* 21. 13; *nemde* 23. 7. 8; *ge-* 5. 9; *næmned* 27. 8; *ge-* 27. 33; *nemnad* 26. 14; *nemneþ* 5. 19; *ræsed* 8. 32; *gerimde* 10. 30; *ge-onrettæ* (for *-orrette*, ôrette) 22. 6; *sended* 18. 8 etc. (6); *ge-* 18. 9; *a-* 15. 24 etc. (3); *sende* 23. 37; *asendun* (= um) 13. 47; *gesælde* (alligatam) 21. 2; *scynde* 24. 22; *scynde* 24. 22; *besenked* 18. 6; *to-stænced* 26. 31; *asterfed* 15. 13; *ontyned* 7. 7 etc. (4); *ontynde* 3. 16; 27. 52; *wæled* 15. 22; *-id* 8. 6; *gewælde* 9. 36; *awæged* 2. 16; *wepned* 19. 4; *awôested* 12. 25; *ge-wroeged* 27. 12; *se wærgad* 13. 19: *awærgede* (without syn.) 25. 41;

beboht 26. 9; bohte 10. 29; *ge-bohtæ* (gen. sg. wk., with loss of *n*) 27. 9; broht 14. 11; 18. 24; *ge-* 12. 22; gereht 1. 23; sald 7. 7 etc. (17); *ge-* 28 18; beþæht 6. 29; worht 11. 21. 23 (2); 14. 2; *ge-* 11. 21; gecægde (cf. Siev., § 408. 3) 20. 16; gecægde 22. 14.

Note. 1. It may be seen from the above examples that the middle vowel is usually (only 2 exceptions) preserved in R' after stems in *-d*, *-t*, when uninflected, (as in North. and Kt., cf. Siev., § 402), but is syncopated in inflected forms. Three inflected forms (stems in *-lg*, *-rg*, *-rr*) preserve *-e-*. Stems in vocalic *r* preserve the vowel as in WS.

Cl. II., gebloetsad 21. 9; 23. 39; gebletsade 25. 34; gebeormad 13. 33; bodad 24. 14; 26. 13; geclensad 8. 3; costad 4. 1; adrugade 12. 10; geendad 7. 28; *gefætted* 13. 15; gefrætwad 12. 44; *fullwihted* 3. 14; geiarwad 22. 4; -Iarwad 25. 34; *Iarward* (= ad) 20. 23; *ge-* 25. 41; *ge-gearwæd* 11. 8; *gegearwade* 11. 8; ungegeradne 22. 11; áhæfgad 26. 43; gehalgad 6. 9; ofer- heowad 17. 2; *ge-inc-fullad* 11. 6; gelaðadum 22. 3. 4; gemyngad 2. 22; *nægled* 27. 23. 26; genæglad 27. 22; *genihtsumað* 5. 12; niðrad 12. 37; 27. 3; gesomnad 13. 40; -e 26. 3 etc. (5); -ede 25. 32; gestapulad 7. 25; *gesoþfæsted* 12. 37; -fest- 11. 19; ðægnad 20. 28; prowad 27. 44; *ge-unrotsad* 17. 23; -ed 14. 9; -ade 18. 31; 26. 22; *bewedded* 1. 18; weorþade 6. 2; ewisade 12. 16. Cl. III., sægd 26. 13.

Note. 2. The participles (strong and weak) might, perhaps, have been better placed under Tense-formation of the several classes (cf. Lindelöf, § 49), but have been collected here for convenience of reference.

## Tense-formation.

### A. Strong Verbs.

#### 1. Ablaut Verbs.

§ 42. Class I. of ablaut verbs, (cf. Siev., § 382). There are 16 simple verbs of this class in R'.

a) The vowel of the present is *i*:

e. g., ariseð 12. 42; astigest 11. 23 etc., (s. I., § 51. a; II., §§ 25–33); but *hriopan* (for *rípan*) 12. 1 has a short vowel and *u-*, *o-* umlaut as in the North. (cf. Siev., § 382, n. 3). Of contract verbs only these occur: *asiendę* (preserving *i*, cf. Siev., § 166. 4) 23. 24; -wreōp (ind. pl.) 16. 17; and the infin. -*wrigan* 11. 27, with *g* from the 3d and 4th stems, and with *i*, as in North. (cf. Siev., § 383 n. 2).

b) The vowel of the 1st and 3d pret. ind. is *ā*:

gegrap 14. 31; hrân 20. 34; æt- 8. 3. 15; æt-hran 9. 20. 29; 17. 7; oferlap 9. 1; râs 27. 64; geras 25. 27; a- 9. 7 etc. (8); â- 8. 15; scân 17. 2; slat 26. 65; stag 8. 23; a- 7. 27 etc. (3); astâg 7. 25; 15. 39; â- 3. 16; astahg 5. 1; gewat 2. 14 etc. (7), (cf. I., § 57. a).

c) The vowel of the 2d sg. and of the pl. pret. ind. (R' wants the pret. opt) is *i*:

e. g., onwrigē 11. 25; cnidun 21. 35; etc., (cf. §§ 34, 35). *u-*, *o-* umlaut of the stem (cf. Siev., § 376) occurs in: wreogan 25. 38. 43; wriogan 25. 36.

d) The vowel of the past part. is *i*:

e. g., awritten 4. 7 etc. (cf. I., § 27. a; II., § 40).

§ 43. Class II. of ablaut verbs, (cf. Siev., §§ 384—5). Thirteen verbs of this class occur in R'.

a) The vowel of the present is *eo* (2 forms have *i*), in certain verbs *ū*:

e. g., bebeodep 4. 6; geotap 9. 17 etc. (cf. I., § 62. a; II., §§ 25—33); *eu* occurs before *w* in *reuve* 18. 10; (but hreowep 15. 32). *ū* occurs in: gelucap 23. 13; alucæ (opt. pl.) 18. 29; sukendra 21. 16. These forms of the contr. vbs. *téon*, *fléon*, are found: -teonde 13. 48; ateoh 18. 9; fleap (ind. pl.) 23. 33; fleop 24. 16; (imp.) 10. 23; fleoh 2. 13. The 3d sg. (2d is wanting) does not have umlaut (s. § 25, and cf. Cosijn, II., § 81). An *i* appears in *ligende* 5. 11; *smikende* 12. 20, »without apparent cause for umlaut« (cf. Siev., § 165. note; § 384. note 1. a), but probably due to the following palatal, (s. I., § 63, and cf. Lindelöf, p. 87).

b) The 1st and 3d sg. pret. ind. has *ea*:

bebead 8. 4 etc. (11); for- 9. 30; geceas 12. 18; ageat 26. 7.

c) The plural pret. ind. (2d sg. is wanting in R'), and the pret. opt. have the vowel *u*:

e. g., gecuron 13. 48 etc., (s. § 34); flugan 3. 7 is the only opt. form. Grammatical change (s—r; h—g) appears regularly as in examples cited.

d) The past part. has the vowel *o*:

e. g., belocen 25. 10, (s. § 40). Gram. change (s—r) appears in: gecoren 20. 16 etc.; forloren 15. 24 etc.

§ 44. Class III of ablaut verbs, (cf. Siev., §§ 386—9). There are 31 verbs of this class in R'.

a) The original vowel of the present is *e*, changed to *i*, *eo*, in WS. before certain consonants. There are three main cases.

*α)* Verbs in nasal + cons. have *i*, as in WS.:

e. g., *gelimpeþ* 18. 13; *drineap* 6. 31 etc., (s. §§ 25–33). Here belong the verbs »run« and »burn« which, after experiencing metathesis, have followed verbs in r + cons. in modifying *e* to *eo*, (cf. Siev., § 386. note 2). These forms occur: *eornende* 28. 8; *beornane* 13. 30; *beornende* 13. 42; *beornað* 5. 15. Rit. has *iorna* (cf. Lindelöf, p. 88).

*β)* Verbs in l + cons. have the vowel *e*:

e. g., *helpeð* 16. 26; *delfan* 24. 43; etc., (s. §§ 25–33); *æ* for *e* occurs once (cf. I. § 15), *swælteþ* 15. 4; but *sweltan* 26. 35.

*γ)* Verbs in r + cons. (vbs. in h + cons. are wanting) usually have the vowel *eo* as in WS., but sometimes *ea*, *e* (*æ* etc.). *eo* occurs in :

e. g., *weorpan* 24. 6; *weorp* 18. 8; *aceorf* 5. 30 etc., (34 forms with *eo*), (s. I., § 19. b; II., §§ 25–33). *ea* in: *wearp* (imp.) 21. 21; *awearpa* (opt. s.) 8. 31; *awearpe* (inf.) 7. 5; *gewearpap* 7. 6; *wearþe* (opt. s.) 5. 30. *e* (without apparent reason) in: *awerp* 5. 29; *werþe* (opt. s.) 24. 20; but *bergaþ* (cauete) 16. 11 has *e* on account of the following palatal. Other variations are: *gewærþe* (opt. pl.) 4. 3; *awoerpeþ* 12. 24; i-umlaut appears in *utwyrpe* (eicio) 12. 27. 28; also in *awyrpeþ* (ind. pl.) 12. 27, probably inflected weak. The 2d and 3d sg. pres. ind. are regularly without umlaut, e. g. *werþeð* 9. 16 (cf. Siev. § 371. n.), but *gewyrfeþ* (demolitur) 6. 19. 20, *gewyrð* 13. 32. Rit. has *o* (*a*) after *win* the above verbs, (cf. Lindelöf, p. 88).

*δ)* Other verbs of this class are irregular in the present, (cf. Siev., § 389). R' has:

*tobersteþ* (ind. pl.) 9. 17, where r + cons. is due to metath.; *to-bregdan* 12. 29; *-bregdeþ* 12. 29; *frægnast* (WS. *frignan*) 19. 17; *-spurne* (opt. s.) 4. 6; *-spurnap* 24. 10.

b) The vowel of the 1st and 3d. sg. pret. ind., originally *a*, is also modified in WS. by following consonants.

*α)* Verbs in nasal + cons. have *a*, *o*, (cf. I., § 4):

*gelamp* 11. 1 etc. (3); *blan* 14. 32; *gebond* 14. 3; *ongan* 16. 22; 26. 37; *in-gann* 4. 17; *ongon* 26. 74; *in-* 11. 7; 14. 30; *-gonn* 11. 20 etc. (3); *bewand* 27. 59.

Here belongs *arn* (with metath.) 27. 48. (WS. *orn*, cf. Cosijn, II, § 85. 2).

β) Verbs in l + cons. have *ea* in WS. (cf. Siev., § 387). R' has *a* (3), *œ* (2):

gald 17. 24; aswalt 22. 25. 27; (be-, ge-) dælf 25. 18; 21. 33, anal. with *bær*, *sæt* etc., (cf. I., p. 22).

γ) Verbs in r + cons. have *ea* in WS. (cf. Siev., § 388).

R' has *a* (7), *ea* (6):

warð 9. 22; ge- 7. 28 etc. (6); wearð 22. 2; for- 18. 11; wearp 21. 12; 27. 5; ut- 9. 33; a- 8. 16.

δ) Other variations of this class have chiefly *œ*, (cf. Siev., § 389). R' has *œ* (1 e):

gebrægd 26. 51; frægn 16. 13; 27. 11; ge- 22. 41; *strægde* (1. sg.) 25. 26 is inflected weak as in WS., (cf. Siev., ibid. note); *toberst* 27. 51 has *e* for *œ*, (cf. I., § 1. c).

ε) The vowel of the pret. ind. pl. (2d sg. is wanting) and of the pret. opt. is regularly *u*, as in WS., but R' has several forms with umlaut, (20 *u*, 7 *y*); *u* in:

e. g., funden 26. 60; sungan 11. 17; urnon 8. 28; wurdon 19. 12 etc. (s. §§ 35. 36). *y* occurs (only after *w*) in the opt. (proper but rare, cf. Siev., § 377): wyrðe 24. 22; gewyrde 26. 5; (swælte alt. to) swylte 22. 24; the following forms may, perhaps, be opt., though I have considered them ind., in which case *y* must be due to analogy: wyrdun 27. 45; -on 15. 24; wyrðon 10. 6; wyrpon 7. 22. Gram. change (ð-d) is disturbed by infl. of the present in 2 cases out of 13. *stræydun* 21. 8 (2) is weak as in the sg. *brustæn* 27. 51 is without metath., (cf. the sg.). *g* is preserved in frugnon, 22. 23; -un 17. 10; but *frugan* 12. 10 waunts *n*, (s. § 35).

δ) The vowel of the past part. is *u* before n + cons., *o* in all other cases:

e. g., gebunden 18. 18 etc.; (of course urnen 8. 24); aswolten 9. 18; acorfen 3. 10 etc. (s. § 40). The part. of *frignan* is wanting. Gram. change (ð-d) is always observed in geworden 9. 10 etc. (15).

#### § 45. Class IV of ablaut verbs, (cf. Siev., § 390).

R' has 5 verbs of this class.

α) The vowel of the present is *e*:

e. g., bere (opt. sg.) 16. 24; brecanne 5. 17; forstelap 6. 19 etc. One form has *œ*: *forstælan* (opt. pl.) 27. 64, (cf. I., § 15. b).

The irreg. verbs, *cuman*, *niman*, have *u*, *i* as in WS.:

e. g., *cume* (ind. 1. s.) 8. 7; *genim* 2. 20 etc. (for all forms see §§ 25–33). Only *cuman* has i-umlaut in the 2d and 3dsg. ind.: *cymest* 3. 14; but also *cumest* 5. 24; the 3d sg., however, has *y* in all cases (18), and *y* has even passed over into the pl.: *cymeþ* 23. 36; -ð 7. 14, (but 5 forms with *u*); into the opt. (cf. Zeuner, p. 105; Lindelöf, p. 89): *cyme* 8. 9; 10. 13; (but 4 with *u*); into the imp.: *cym* 9. 18; 19. 21; -þ 21. 38; 25. 34, (but 5 with *u*); and into the pres. part.: *cymende* 2. 8 etc. (3); -e 16. 28, (but 22 with *u*). *u*-, *o*-, umlaut (cf. Siev., § 370; Lindelöf, p. 89) occurs in: *beoran* 7. 18 (2); *niomap* (ind. pl.) 26. 52, but *nimap* 19. 11); *nioman* (inf.) 5. 40; 19. 12; *nioma* 5. 42; and even the inflected inf., *niomane* 15. 33, (but 2 have \*).

b) The 1st and 3d sg. pret. ind have *æ* (e):

*bær* 8. 17; *ge-* 1. 25; *bær* 14. 11; *bræc* 15. 36; 26. 26; *brēc* 14. 19. *cuman* and *niman* have *o*, probably = ð, (cf. Siev., § 390, note 2), though in no case geminated or provided with an accent; for *a*, common before nasals in this text, never appears in these forms: *cwom* 4. 13 etc. (23); *cwo(m)* 21. 23; 26. 36; *quom* 28. 9; *cuom* 5. 17 etc. (20); *fore-* 17. 25; *cuo(m)* 2. 21; 15. 29; *com* 17. 12; 24. 39; 25. 10; *genom* 27. 24 etc. (15).

c) The 2d sg. and the pl. pret. ind. together with the pret. opt. have ē (ð in *cuman*, *niman*) in WS. R' has ē, æ, (cf. I. § 43. b), and ð in the irreg. vbs.:

*beron* (ind.) 20. 12, (Rit. has ē, cf. Lindelöf, p. 89); *forstælen* (opt.) 28. 13; *cwome* (2d sg.) 8. 29; 26. 50; *cwomun* 19. 3 etc.; *noman* 26. 55 etc. (s. §§ 35, 36 for all forms).

d) The past part. has *o* (*u*, one *o*, in *niman*; the part. of *cuman* is wanting):

*gebroken* 21. 44; *genumen* 24. 40. 41 (2); but *genoman* 27. 59, perhaps due to the influence of the pret. (cf. I., § 38).

#### § 46. Class V. of ablaut verbs, (cf. Siev., § 391).

R' has 13 verbs of this class.

a) The vowel of the present is regularly *e* in WS., but those verbs that form the pres. with *jo* have *i*. R' has *e*, but very often *æ*, characteristic of this text, (s. I., §. 15). For all examples see §§ 25–33. Forms with *æ* (e) are:

*cwæþe* (ind. 1. s.) 5. 39. 44; (opt. s.) 5. 22; 21. 3; *cwæþað* (ind. pl.) 11. 18. 19; 23. 16. 30; -þ 21. 25; (imp. pl.) 26. 18; *cwæþan*

(opt. pl.) 5. 11; *cwaþpende* 2. 5 etc. (58); -end(m) 22. 31; *cweþpende* 10. 7 etc. (3); *cwæþ* (imp. s.) 20. 21; *ge-* 4. 3; here belong certainly: *cwæþ* (pres. ind. 3. s., as fut.) 25. 34. 40. 41; 21. 25; 24. 48; *cwaþ* 5. 22; probably also (though there may be change of tense to the pret. in some cases, the form being just the same, s. b, below) the following: *cwaþ* (ait) 4. 7 etc. (66); (*dicit*) 8. 20 etc. (17); (*dicens*) 25. 22 etc. (3); (*dicente*) 17. 26; *cweþ(ait)* 11. 4 etc. (3); (*dicit*) 12. 44; *agæfeþ* (ind. 3. s.) 16. 27; This *æ* for *e* is confined, with a single exception, to the vb. *cweðan*, and is probably due to the preceding *w*. Rit. has *oe* (1 *æ*) in the same vb. (cf. Lindelöf, p. 90).

Note 1. *i-* umlaut and syncope of the 2d and 3d pres. ind. appear in *cwiðst* 27. 11; but *cweþest* 12. 23; -*u* 7. 4; *cwið* 15. 5; but *cweþap* 12. 32 (2), and with syncope, *cweþ(ait)* 8. 32 etc. (14); (*dicit*) 7. 21; 8. 26; -*ð* (inquit, pres. or pret.?) see also *cwaþ* above; other regular verbs have *e*; *eteþ*, *ongeteþ* etc. (s. § 25). The contract verb *séon* usually has the modified vowel *i*, and preserves *h*, as in WS. and Kt., (cf. Siev., § 374); *gesihst* 7. 5; -*u* 7. 3; but *geseqs* 7. 3; *sis* 7. 3; *gesihþ* 5. 28; *ð* 6. 6; *gesið* 6. 4; but *geseoþ* (infl. of pl.) 6. 18; cf. also *gefeaþ* (*gaudebit*) 18. 13, (Lindis. has the same form).

Note 2. Verbs in *jo*, for uniformity, often introduce the geminated cons. into the 2d and 3d sg.: *gebiddes* 4. 9; *biddeth* 7. 10; but with syn., *bit* 7. 8; *sittþ* 19. 28. 29, (but 3 forms with *t*); *bidde* (imp.) 6. 6; (but *lige*, *site*, s. § 29).

Note 3. *u-, o-* umlaut is quite common (cf. Siev., § 370): *cweoþap* (ind. pl.) 16. 13; -*ð* 16. 2. 15; *ge-* 17. 20; *cweoþan* (opt. pl.) 23. 39; *ageofu* (ind. 1. s.) 18. 29; *ageofað* (ind. pl.) 21. 41; -*p* 12. 36; (imp. pl.) 22. 21; *ageofan* (inf.) 27. 58; *ongeotað* (ind. pl.) 13. 13; even before a palatal in *spreocan* (inf.) 6. 7; and contrary to usage in North., (cf. Siev., § 371. note), *spreocaþ* (ind. 3. sg.) 12. 34. The verbs »give« and »get« show no palatal infl. in the pres. (cf. I., § 16. a.).

b) The 1st and 3d pret. ind. have *æ* in WS. R' has *æ* (q); often *e*, (cf. I., § 1. c):

*cwæþ* (*dixit*) 2. 8 etc. (73); (*dicebat*) 9. 21. 24; (*dixerit*, perf. subj.) 16. 12; (*dixerat*) 26. 75; -*ð* (*dixit*) 20. 7; *cweþ* (*dixit*) 13. 57; 17. 26; *cweþ* (*dixit*) 9. 22; 11. 25; 12. 25; 15. 16. 27; -*ð* 12. 3, (s. also *cwæþ*, *cweþ* under a, above); Rit. has usually *oe* in this vb., as in the pres., (cf. Lindelöf, p. 90. 2)

Other preterits in R' are: *êt* (cf. Siev., § 391. n. 3) 12. 4; *sprec* 13. 3 etc. (6); *spræc* 12. 46; *spræc* 9. 18 etc. (3); *ge-* 17. 5; *sæh* (s. I., § 7. a) 21. 19; *ge-* 3. 7 etc. (11); *gesæg* 3. 16; *gesægh* 4. 21; *geseah* 9. 36 etc. (6); *bæd* 27. 58; *ge-* 9. 18; *togebædd* 8. 2; *gebæd*

26. 42; bed 18. 29; ge- 15. 25; 26. 44; bedd 18. 26; sæt 24. 3; ge- 13. 1; 26. 58; sætt 4. 16; 26. 55. 69; sett 15. 29; 27. 19; ge- 13. 2; 28. 2, (gemination due to infl. of pres.).

c) The vowel of the remainder of the pret. ind. and of the opt. is *æ* in WS. R' has *e* and *æ* in about the ratio of 5: 4, (s. I., § 43, b; II., §§ 34, 35, 36):

cwæde 26. 25; cwedun 9. 34 etc.; bedon 16. 1 etc.

Note. The only case of palatal influence appears in ongeotun 24. 39, (but 5 forms with *ð*). *seon* has *g* instead of *w*: e. g., segon 15. 31 etc., (cf. Siev., § 391, note 5; Lindelöf, p. 91); the vowel is usually *e* and *æ* in this vb., as in other verbs, but *ð* 3 times: *gesagun* 25. 37. 38. 44.

d) The past part. has *e* in WS. R' has *e*, but often *æ* in cwæden 5. 21 etc. (12), (s. § 40).

Gram. change (*ð*-*d*) is observed without exception in the pret. and past part. of *cweðan*. 13 participles, not already compounded, want the prefix *ge-*, 14 have *ge-*.

#### § 47. Class VI. of ablaut verbs, (cf. Siev., § 392).

R' has eleven verbs of this class.

a) The vowel of the present is *a*, modified in certain verbs by surrounding consonants or by following *j*. For all forms s. §§ 25—33.

Note 1. R' prefers *æ* (*q*) in *færان* (inf.) 2. 22; 16. 21; but *faran* 8. 28. Analogy has not carried *a* into the remaining forms: *færende* (s. I., § 2. a) 25. 14; *fær* (imp.) 2. 20, (cf. Siev., § 49, note 2); but *fereþ* (imp. pl., following the sg.) 11. 3.

Note 2. Palatal umlaut affects the vowel in *wexan* 13. 30 etc. (s. I., p. 25); but *onsæcest* 26. 34; *onsaekęp* 10. 33 may have *i*-umlaut (cf. I., p. 28); other forms of this vb. are; *onsaece* (ind. 1. s.) 10. 33; &*sace* 26. 35; -*sæcę* (opt.) 16. 24, (cf. I., § 2. b); in *ascękep* (impl. pl.) 10. 14 the vowel is unchanged but accented.

Note 3. The imp. of verbs which form their pres. with *jo* lacks *e*, as in North., (cf. Siev., § 372, note): *hef* 21. 21; *swer* 5. 33 (cf. § 46. a). Otherwise these vbs. conform to WS. usage).

Note 4. The contr. vb. *slán* has umlaut (s. I., p. 24 and »Nachträge«) and twice preserves *h* (*g*) in the 2d and 3d sg. ind.: *slægst* 23. 37; *slæhp* 10. 28; but *slæþ* 5. 21; *h* is even extended to the pl.; and the vowel is like that of the sg.: *slæhp* (occident) 24. 9; *ofslægp* 17. 23; but *ofslæp* 23. 34 (cf. Siev., § 374. note).

The other contr. vb. in R' (pwah etc.) wants the 2d and 3d sg.

b) The vowel of the pret. is *ô* throughout:

The 1st and 3d sg.: *slog* 26. 51. 68; *of-* 2. 16; 14. 10; &*soc* 26. 72; *onsôc* 26. 70; *stod* 13. 2; *ge-* 2. 9; *stôd* 27. 11; *ge-* 20. 32; *ðwog* 27. 24; *weox* 13. 26 follows the redup. vbs. (cf. Siev., § 392, note 3); the pl. is *wexon* 13. 7. For all forms of the pl. ind., and of the opt. sg. and pl. s. §§ 35. 36. Gram. change (*h-g*) is disturbed in *slog*, *ðwog* by the infl. of the pl., and *g* has made its way even into the pres., see above, and cf. *slag* (imp.) 5. 21.

c) The past part. has *a*, sometimes *æ* in WS. R' has 5 *æ* (*ae*), 1 *e* (before *g*):

e. g., *-færen* 14. 34 etc., (s. § 40).

## 2. Reduplicating Verbs.

### § 48. Reduplicating verbs, (cf. Siev., §§ 393—7).

There are 21 verbs of this class in R'.

a) The whole present and the past part. have the same vowel in these verbs. The only exceptions in R' are the contr. vbs. *fôn*, *hôn*, and the past. pt. *aswopen* 12. 44, the only form (in text) of *aswâpan*, (cf. Siev., § 397).

Note 1. i- umlaut of the 2d and 3d sg. pres. ind. occurs only in: *onfoeð* 10. 40 etc. (10 forms); and with *h* preserved, *onfoehþ* 13. 20; but *onfoeþ* (accipiet) 19. 29; *cræd* (cantet) 26. 75; *cræd* 26. 34. For all forms of the pres. s. §§ 25—33; of the past part. s. § 40.

Note 2. The passive form *hatte* occurs in 2. 23; 13. 55; 26. 36; 27. 33 (all. pres.).

b) The pret. has either *e*, *ê* or *eo*, *eo* throughout in WS. (cf. Siev., § 395). R' has occasionally *e* (usually before *w*) interchanging with *eo* in the same verb. In the sg. (1st and 3d), the forms are:

*creow* 26. 74; *dreord* 14. 5; *feng* 1. 24; *on-* 8. 17 etc. (6); *ond-* 25. 16; *heft* 14. 2 etc. (7); *ge-* 14. 7; *geheld* 19. 20; *heow* 26. 51; *ge-heu* 27. 60; *let* 19. 8; *for-* 14. 15 etc. (11); *seow* 25. 26 etc. (5); *speou* 27. 24; *slepte* 8. 24 is weak as in WS., (cf. Cosijn, II., p. 145); Siev., § 395, n. 2; Lindelöf, p. 93); the pl. is *sleptun* (2), but also *slepad* 25. 5. For all forms of the pl. and of the opt. s. §§ 35, 36.

Note. 3. Those preterits having *e* and *eo* are; *fellun* 7. 25, (but 4 forms with *eo*, 1 with *ea*); cf. also *gefetun* 13. 7. 8 probably a mistake for *-fellun*; *sewe* (2d sg. ind.) 25. 24, but *geseowe* 13. 27;

(s. also above); blewan 7. 25; but bleowen 7. 27; forleortun 19. 27 occurs only once (18 forms sg. and pl. with ē); but dreord, -un is the only form found (s. § 25).

## B. Weak Verbs.

§ 49. Class I. of weak verbs, (cf. Siev., §§ 400, 410).

There are about 114 verbs of this class in R'.

a) The present stem has i-umlaut throughout. For all forms see §§ 25—33. Original short stems (except those in r) regularly have the middle cons. geminated in OE., with the exception of the 2d and 3d sg. ind. and the sg. imp. In R' gemination is occasionally wanting :

gesete (ind. 1. s.) 25. 23, (but 3 forms with tt); apenede 8. 3 etc. (3); wæcep (imp. pl.) 25. 13, (but 4 with cc); wæcende 24. 43. Oftener, for uniformity, gemination is extended to the 3d sg. and to the imp. sg. (cf. § 46. a): fremmap (3d sg.) 7. 24 etc. (5): settep 9. 16; 24. 47, (but 3 with t); sellep 7. 11; 25. 29; -ap 5. 25 etc. (6); ræcct 2. 6; gesette (imp. s.) 9. 18; selle 17. 27 etc. (3); syll 19. 21, (but 2 sele, 2 sel); arecce 13. 36; 15. 15; Rit shows similar variation (cf. Lindelöf, §§ 45, 51).

Note. The *j* is preserved in stygan (inf.) 23. 4, (2d and 3d sg. are wanting); cf. also swerige (inf.) 26. 74 etc.; but swerap (ind. 3. s.) 23. 16 etc. regular, (Cl. VI., st.). Of long stems only cegan 22. 3 etc. preserves *j*.

b) Formation of the preterit. There are three main cases.

a) Original short stems. Some of these have *-ed* + *-e*, *-est* etc. (s. §§ 37, 38), the final consonant of the stem remaining ungeminated; but verbs in *d*, *t* have *-d* + *e* etc. (which becomes *-te*, *-test* etc. after *t*), (cf. Siev., 401).

R' has :

byrede 12. 4; styredun 27. 39; apenede 12. 13; 14. 31; werede 3. 14 but alægde (as in WS.) 27. 60; lægdun 15. 30; sette 18. 2 etc. (7); ge- 13. 24 etc. (5); gesætte 28. 16; settun 27. 37; ge- 26. 15; 27. 29.

β) Original long stems join *-de* etc. (*-te* etc. after *p*, *t*, *c*, *ff*, *ss*, and *x*) »immediately to the radical syllable«, and

have i-umlaut like the short stems. Gemination is simplified before the ending *-de* etc. After p, t, c, ff, ss, x, the ending *-de* usually becomes *-te*; -ðde becomes *-dde* in late texts. The comb. *dd*, (*tt*) resulting from adding the pret. ending to verbs in *d* and *t* is simplified after a cons. Stems in cons. + *n*, *l*, *r* are irregular and often have *-ede* (-ode), (cf. Siev., §§ 404, 405).

R' is normal in the main, but occasionally introduces a middle vowel, and in some cases lacks umlaut. Regular forms of the sg. are:

ælde 25. 5; inbergde 27. 34; forbernde 22. 7; kende 1. 2. 16; gecerde 2. 22; 9. 22; cyste 26. 49; depte 3. 6; ge-fylde 27. 48; fæstæ 4. 2; foerde 9. 27 etc.; afældæ 21. 12; groette 1. 25; gehērde 2. 3 etc.; gehælde 4. 24 etc.; ahydde 25. 18 etc.; læerde 5. 2 etc.; læfde 22. 25; lædde 17. 1 etc.; -lihte 28. 1; gemette 20. 6 etc.; sende 18. 30 etc.; ontynde 5. 2 etc.; þyrste 25. 35 etc.; ondwyrde 11. 25 etc.; werfde 9. 22; awyrgde 27. 5; (for plural forms s. § 38).

The middle vowel appears in:

bebyrgedun 14. 12; fylgedun (orig. Cl. III., cf. Siev., § 416 n. 6) 19. 2; fylgendun (for -edun) 4. 25; (but fylgdun 9. 27); gleosede 28. 20; of course in: hyngrede (cf. Siev., § 405. 5) 12. 3; 25. 42; -ade (as in North.) 4. 2; hingr- 21. 18; yngr- 25. 35; with loss of *w*: wælede 27. 60; 28. 2; ungeredun 27. 31, (cf. Siev., § 408. 1).

The following are without umlaut:

gemotte (prob. an error) 8. 10 (but 8, forms, sg. and pl., with ē, oe, s. I., § 54. a); abriodde 22. 7 (fr. brēoðan, st. vb. Cl. II., infl. wk.) æt-eawde (cf. Siev., § 408. 2) 2. 13 etc. (7); -un 27. 58; -en (opt.) 24. 1; eaude 2. 19; leorde 11. 1; ge- 19. 1; liorde 9. 27; ge- 12. 9, (cf. Siev., § 403. n. 1); steordon 19. 13; gestrionde 25. 20 etc. (4).

Note. *n* is lost in nemde 1. 25; -un 10. 25, (cf. Cosijn, II., p. 166). *j* is preserved in: cegde 14. 30 etc. (3); ceigde 20. 25 etc. (s. I., § 61).

y) Certain irregular verbs in Germanic add *-de* (-te) directly to the radical syl. without any middle vowel, and therefore want i-umlaut. R' has these forms:

salde 10. 1 etc. (18); ge- 9. 8; getahtæ 3. 7, (cf. Siev., § 407. n. 4); worhte 13. 58 etc. (6); ge- 11. 20; 19. 4; -æ 25. 16; gebohþe 13. 46; 20. 7; þohþe 1. 20; sohþe 13. 45; ge- 26. 16; a- 2. 16; brohte 17. 16 etc. (4). The pl. and opt. forms may be found in §§ 38, 39.

Note. In imitation of these is formed (cf. Siev., § 407. b): -nealehte 21. 34; nealehctun 21. 1; but geneolictæ 9. 20. (s. I., § 58 d.)

c) The past part. has been treated already at sufficient length in § 41.

§ 50. Class II. of weak verbs (cf. Siev., §§ 411—414). There are about 118 verbs of this class in R'.

a) The characteristic middle vowel of the present, WS. -i- (-ig-), appears in R' chiefly in the form -ig- (about 63 i g, 15 i, 1 g), but is often wanting altogether (56 times). The inflected inf. (4 forms) lacks this vowel (s. § 32), and the pres. part. lacks it 24 times in 27, (s. § 33). Rarely (3 times) the vowel i appears in the 3d sg. pres. ind. (after the analogy of the pl.), but not at all in the 2d sg. or in the imp. sg. For all forms and full statistics see §§ 25—33.

Note. u-, o-umlaut appears in: hleonigap (ind. pl.) 8. 11; geteorige (opt. pl.) 15. 32; cliopad (imp.) 22. 9; and even in the 3d sg. ind. (anal. of pl. forms), cliopap 12. 19; cleopap 27. 47.

b) The preterit in WS. usually has the ending -od + the personal endings -e, -est etc., sometimes -ad + -e etc., seldom -ude, -ede etc. (cf. Siev., § 412). The Ps. has the middle vowel -a-, sometimes -e- (in sg., 173 a, 31 e; in pl. 55 a, 40 e), (cf. Zeuner, p. 115). Rit. has a, in very few cases e, (cf. Lindelöf, p. 98).

R' has in the sg., 86 a, 17 e; in the pl., 66 a, 8 e, 1 u. These verbs occur in the sg., 1 st and 3d, (for the 2d sg. s. § 37, b):

ahsade 2. 4; axsade 22. 35; biatadae 9. 30; bled-, bletsade, 14. 19; 26. 26; bodede 9. 35 (may be for bodende); clænsade 11. 5; cliopade 20. 32 etc. (4); costade 19. 3; gedæfnade 18. 33; -def- 23. 23; adumbede 22. 12; adrugade 21. 20; gedwalade 18. 12; eardade 2. 23; ge- 4. 13; efalsade 26. 65; ge-endade 19. 1 etc. (4); gefirinade 27. 4; folgade (cf. Siev., § 416. n. 6) 9. 19 etc. (2); frohtade 14. 30; gegadrade 19. 6; Jarwede 26. 12; hleonede (cf. Siev., § 416. n. 6) 26. 20; hlion- 9. 10; ge-incfullade 15. 12; gelafede 22. 8; licade 14. 6; ge- 3. 17 etc. (4); geliornade 2. 7; miltsade 18. 33; milsade 14. 14; monade 25. 19; ge- 14. 8; pleagade (cf. Siev., § 416. n. 6) 14. 6; ricsade 2. 22; ofer-scuade 17. 5; smorede 18. 28; gesomnade 2. 4; 22. 41; (ond-, and-, on-) swarade 24. 2 etc. (26); -ede 21. 21 etc. (7); ondsweorede 16. 17; swigade (cf. Siev., § 416. n. 8) 26. 63; timbrade 7. 26; ge- 7. 24; 21. 33; ðægnade 8. 15; pongade 26. 27; ðreatade 17. 18; prowade 9. 20 etc. (8); for-wisnade 21. 19; witgade 15. 7; wunade 21. 17; gewunede 27. 15; wundrade 27. 14. For pl. forms see § 38.

Note. *u-*, *o*-umlaut appears in 15 forms: *cliopade*, -*un* etc. (9); *hleonede*, -*un*, etc. (4); *pleagade*; *ondsweorede*, (s. above and § 38).

c) The past part. has been sufficiently treated in § 41.

§ 51. Class III. of weak verbs (cf. Siev., §§ 415, 416).

R' has numerous forms of *secgan*, *habban*; a few of *lifgan*, *féogan*; and the single forms: *ðreiga* (inf.) 16. 22; *gefrooge* (pres. opt. s.) 27. 43. 49. Other verbs originally belonging to this class, (cf. Siev., § 416, note 6) may be found under Classes I. and II.

a) The present. In WS. the 2d and 3d sg. pres. ind. and the sg. imp. of these verbs belong to Cl. II., all other present forms to Cl. I.

In R' *secgan* conforms to Cl. I. throughout the present as in Ps. The vowel of the radical syl. is *æ* (2 *e*). This may be due to the infl. of the pret. or, more probably, it is only *æ* for umlaut-*e* characteristic of this text, (s. I., § 12. b). Rit. also has *æ* (1 *e*) throughout (cf. Lindelöf, p. 99).

*habban* has in R':

ind. 2d and 3d sg., *hæfest* (3), *hæfep* (11), but *hefæp* 5. 32; imp. s., *hæfe* (2); opt. s., *hæbbe* (8); pres. part., *hæbbende* (17), *hæbende* 4. 24; but keeps *a* always in the ind. and imp. pl. and in the one inf., *habbanne* 14. 4. Rit. shows a like interchange of *a* and *æ*, (cf. Lindelöf, § 53). The Ps. has only *a* in the pres. (cf. Zeuner, p. 117). For all forms of these vbs. see §§ 25—33.

Note 1. *lifgan* has *fg*, instead of *bb* (cf. Siev., § 416, note 2; Lindelöf § 53), in all forms of the pres. (5) except the 3d sg. ind., which has *u-*, *o*-umlaut, *leofap* 9. 18.

Note 2. The few forms of *féogan* have the diphthongs *ie*, *ia*: *fiað* (ind. 3. s.) 6. 24; *fiegaþ* (pl.) 24. 10; *fiegæ* (opt. pl.) 5. 44.

b) The preterit adds *-de* etc. to the radical syl. without any middle vowel.

R' has:

*sægde* 13. 31 etc. (5); *ge-* 13. 24; *fore-* 28. 7; *hæfde* 18. 25 etc. (8); *hefde* 13. 5; *næfde* 18. 25; 22. 25; *lifde* 27. 63. The 2d sg. is wanting; for the pl. see § 38.

c) The past part. adds *-d* to the radical syl. R' has only *sægd* 26. 13.

### C. Minor Groups.

§ 52. The Preteritive Presents (cf. Siev., §§ 417—425). The following occur in R':

a) wat (*scio*) 25. 24; 28. 5; (*scit*) 6. 32; 24. 36; without fusion with neg. (cf. Siev., § 420) *ne wat* (*nescio*) 26. 70; (*ignorat*) 24. 50; wast (*scis*) 15. 12; ind. pl., witan 24. 32. 44; *wutan* (s. I., § 33. d) 22. 16; 26. 2, (cf. Siev., § 420. note; Lindelöf, § 54. 1); with negative, niton 21. 27; nytan 20. 22; opt. sg., wite 9. 30; with neg., nyte 6. 3; opt. pl. wite (*sciatis*) 9. 6; introducing a hortatory clause and followed by the inf., *wutu* 21. 38; 26. 46; *hwute* 27. 49; imp. pl., witap 24. 43; wite ge 24. 33; pres. part., witende 12. 25; 26. 10; pret. ind. 3. s., wiste 12. 15; 16. 8; 27. 18; opt. s. 24. 43; opt. pl., wiston 12. 7; ind. 2. s., wistes 25. 26; past part., witen 10. 26.

b) Pres. ind. pl., agun 20. 25; inf., agan 10. 9; pret. ind. 3. s., ahte 1. 6; past part. as adj., agene (ins.) 27. 31. conn (*noui*) 26. 72; con (*nescio*) 25. 12; (*nouit*) 11. 27 (2); const (*sapis*) 16. 23; ind. pl., cunnun 27. 65; -an 22. 29; 24. 42; 25. 13; cunun 20. 25; with substitution of the regular ending of the pres. pl., *cunnað* (*nostis*) 16. 3 (2); -eþ (*nostis*) 7. 11; inf., gecunnan 13. 11; pret. opt. s., cuþe 7. 23; cuðe 26. 74; past. part. as adj., ge-cuðne 12. 16.

c) ðearf (*opus habet*) 21. 3; pl., ðurfund 6. 32; ðurfe we 26. 65; pres. part., *þurfende* (with vowel of pl.) 5. 3; *þorfende* 11. 5. Rit. has ðorfende, (cf. Lindelöf, § 54. 5); Lindis., ðorfendo Mt. 5. 3; 11. 5.

d) durste (*timuit*) 2. 22; dy(r)ste (*ausus fuit*) 22. 46.

e) Pres. ind. 1st and 3d s., sceal 3. 14; 26. 54; scal 11. 14 (cf. Lindelöf, § 54. 6); 2d s., scealt 18. 28; scalt 11. 3; pl., sculon 10. 9; 23. 10; 24. 6; 3. 15; ne scule ge (*nolite*) 6. 7; (without *ge*) 6. 8; opt. sg. scyle 17. 10; 26. 35; pret. ind. s., sculde 18. 28; scalde 18. 24; pl. sculdon 12. 14; 20. 10; opt. s., scylde 16. 21, (cf. Siev., § 423, note 1).

f) Pres. ind. 2. s., gemynest 27. 63; pret. ind. 3. s., gemunde 26. 75.

g) Pres. 1st and 3d sg., mæg 19. 12; 10. 28 etc. (12); 2d s., mæht (s. I. § 7. a) 5. 36; 8. 2; pl., magun 6. 24; 9. 15 etc. (6); -on 20. 22; opt. s., mæge 9. 28; 24. 24; 26. 39. 42. 53; pret. 3. s., mæhte 8. 28; 22. 46; 26. 9; 2d. s., mæhtest 26. 40; pl., mæhton 17. 16. 19.

h) Pres. 3. s. mot 12. 10; 27. 6; môt 19. 3; pret. pl. mostun 14. 36.

### § 53. Verbs in *-mi* (cf. Siev., §§ 426—430).

R' has the following forms:

a) The substantive verb (cf. Siev., § 427).

a) Root *es*:

pres. ind. 1. sg., eam 8. 9; 9. 21 etc. (13), (s. I., § 26. b) with neg., nam 8. 8; næm 3. 11; 2d sg., eart 14. 33 etc. (10); earð 6. 9; arþu 11. 3, (cf. Lindelöf, § 55, a); 3d sg., is 15. 8 etc. (72); with inorganic h, *his* 3. 3; 5. 3; 17. 4; 22. 20; neg., nis 18. 14 etc. (19); pl., *arun* 19. 28; sint 1. 17 (3); 5. 12; 6. 23; 24. 16; sindun 17. 26

etc. (48); -on 13. 56; 15. 14. 20; syndun 12. 48; -on 12. 5; 13. 38; sy(n)dun 13. 39; sendun 2. 18; 22. 14; 23. 27; -on 22. 30; opt. 1. sg., seo 16. 15; 2d sg., sie 4. 6; 5. 25; 6. 18; 18. 9; siæ 4. 3; 18. 8; się 14. 28; sy 26. 63; se 5. 25; 3d sg., sie 5. 13 etc. (14); się 16. 13; 18. 6; siæ 24. 17 etc. (9); syæ 27. 42; siae 10. 13 (2); sy 24. 2. 18; 27. 22; se 18. 6; pl., sie 6. 1. 2. 5. 7. 16; 5. 45; 17. 4; 20. 33; siæ 23. 5; sy 24. 6; sien 24. 24; sien 7. 1. Rit. has sie, sg. and pl., about 210 times, se about 20 times (cf. Lind., ibid.). Ps. has sg., sie, pl., sien (cf. Zeuner, § 56).

**β) Root *bheu*:**

ind. 1. sg., beom 9. 21; 17. 17; 20. 22; 2d sg., bist 5. 23; 11. 23; 12. 37 (2); 3d sg., bið 16. 4 etc. (72); biþ 16. 3 etc. (27); biþ 12. 25; beoþ 6. 23. 34 (borrowed fr. pl.); pl., beoð 24. 40; 25. 32; -þ 7. 2 etc. (18); bioþ 8. 12 etc. (7); -ð 6. 33; beoðan 4. 19; 5. 11; 12. 36; 18. 18; 19. 30; 25. 41; -ð- 16. 19; biðon 16. 19; opt. 3. sg., beo 6. 9; 18. 17; 20. 26. 27; 23. 11; 26. 42; pl., beon 4. 3; 5. 6. 30; 18. 3; 25. 34; imp. sg., beo 5. 25. 42; pl., beoþ 6. 5. 16 etc. (5); bioþ 10. 16; inf., beon 16. 21 etc. (18). Rit. has ind. pl., biðon, Ps. has bioð.

**γ) Root *wes*:**

Imp. sg., wæs 2. 13; 5. 25, (s. I., § 15. b); pl., wesaþ 10. 16; inf., wesa 3. 14; pret. ind. 1. and 3., wæs 14. 24 etc. (126); wæss 2. 18; wæs 6. 29; 27. 32; was 26. 1; 2d sg., wære 25. 21. 23; were 26. 69; pl., weron 15. 38 etc. (16); -un 4. 18 etc. (31); wærun (s. I., § 43. b) 11. 20 etc. (6); -on 25. 10; weron 12. 3; 18. 31; (wer)un 3. 6; opt. sg., wäre 26. 24 etc. (13); wære 8. 17; 13. 35; were 27. 26. pl. with loss of -n, were 11. 23; wäre 24. 22; 26. 56. Rit. has inf. wosa, ind., wosað etc. (cf. Lindelöf, § 55).

**b) The verb »will« (cf. Siev., § 428):**

Pres. ind. 1. sg., wille 15. 32 etc. (9); neg., nyll ic 21. 30, (cf. Siev., § 428, note 1); 2d sg., wilt 8. 2; 19. 17. 21; 26. 39; wiltu 20. 21; 13. 28; uilltu 26. 17; 3d sg., wile (with 1 l) 11. 27; 16. 25; 20. 27; but wille 5. 40; neg., nyle 10. 14; pl., willaþ 12. 38 etc. (4); -ð 11. 14 etc. (3); neg., nylleþ 23. 4; imp. pl., ne wellað (without fusion) 3. 9; nellaþ 23. 8; opt. sg., wille 5. 42; 15. 28; 16. 24; 17. 4; 20. 26; wile 27. 43; pret. ind. sg., wolde 1. 19; 14. 5; 18. 30; 23. 37; walde 1. 19; 2. 18; 18. 23; 24. 43 (2); neg., nolde 27. 34; pl. waldun 17. 12; neg., naldun 23. 37; noldan 22. 3; opt. pl., walden 27. 15. (s. I. § 34. c).

**c) The verb »do« (cf. Siev., § 429):**

Pres. ind. 1. sg., do 20. 13; 21. 24; dom 27. 22; ge- 4. 19; dóm 19. 16; 2d sg., doest 21. 23; 3d sg., doeþ 5. 32; 8. 9; 21. 40; 24. 48; dœþ 5. 45; 18. 35; ind. pl., doð 23. 3; dôþ 23. 15 (2); doap 5. 47 (2); 12. 2; 21. 21; ge- 9. 17; 28. 14; doeþ (faciunt) 5. 46; opt. sg.,

do 19. 18; 20. 32; of- 7. 4; dôa 6. 3; opt. pl., dôa 7. 12; doan 6. 1. 2. 7; imp. sg., do 8. 9; geþo (for -do?) 7. 5; pl., doð 23. 3 (2); doap 4. 17; 7. 12; dôep 3. 2; 5. 44; inf., doan 20. 15; for- 10. 28; gedaøa 9. 28; 16. 25; to doanne 12. 2. 12; pres. part. dônde 24. 46; doende 15. 36; pret. ind. 1. and 3. sg., dyde 1. 24 etc. (7); ge- 13. 28; 2d sg. dydest 20. 12; ind. pl., dydun 25. 45 etc. (10); -on 11. 20 etc. (7); ge- 21. 13; opt. sg., dyde 23. 23; pl., fordydun 27. 20; past part., gedaan 18. 31; gedôan 23. 15; gedôen 28. 11, (with umlaut). (cf. Lindelöf, p. 102; Zeuner, p. 118).

d) The verb »go«, (cf. Siev., § 430):

Pres. ind. 1. sg., fore-ga 26. 32; 2d sg., gæs 5. 26; gæst 8. 19; 3d sg., gæp 8. 9 etc. (10); forð- 15. 11; in- 15. 11; gæð 15. 18; 26. 24; in- 15. 17; gaep 4. 4; gæep 7. 21; utgæep 12. 43; gað 18. 12; ind. pl., gap 5. 20; 25. 46; oftener gæp 18. 49; 18. 3; 21. 31; ofer- 15. 2. 3; be- 20. 25; gæp 23. 13; gaep 15. 19; opt. sg., gâ 8. 8; pl., gæn 13. 28; ut- 10. 11; in- 10. 11; ingan 7. 13; imp. sg., gâ 9. 5. 6; 8. 4. 9; ga 4. 10 etc. (7); gae 5. 24; pl., gap 7. 13; 10. 6; gâp 20. 7; 22. 9; gâð 10. 14; 21. 2; oftener gæp 2. 8; 10. 5 etc. (10); gæp 9. 13; 11. 4; gaeð 8. 32; infin., gæ 18. 9; innga 19. 17; pret. ind. 1. and 3. sg., eode 13. 46 etc. (40); ut- 8. 34 etc. (5); ofer- 25. 5; eode 8. 5; eade 4. 23; 24. 38; fore- 2. 9; 2d. sg., eodest 22. 12; pl., eodun 14. 15 etc. (34); -an 21. 9; -en 11. 7. 8. 9; 25. 1; 26. 50. 55; ut- 27. 32; opt. pl., eoden 26. 55; 11. 7 (?), (s. I. p. 71. b, and § 29).

## 2. Nouns.

### Declension of Nouns.

#### I. The Strong Declension.

Most nouns of the strong dec. in R' are inflected regularly as in WS. It will be sufficient, therefore, to give such variations from standard WS. (cf. the paradigms in Sievers gram.) as have been noted. While in general R' is rather a translation than a mere gloss, there are not wanting cases in which syntactical relations seem to be ignored.

#### A. The *o*-Declension.

This dec. embraces masculine and neuter nouns. There are three subdivisions: simple *o*-stems, *jo*-stems, and *wo*-stems (cf. Siev., § 235).

§ 54. Masculine nouns of the *o-dec.*

a) Simple *o*-stems (cf. Siev., § 238):

α) Singular. *Nom.-acc.* No ending.

Exceptions: eosula (acc.) 21. 7, probably weak (cf. § 65), (but æosul 21. 2); gaste (nom.) 12. 43, (but 3 gast, 10. 20 etc.); caseringe (acc., as if fem.) 17. 24, (but casering, same verse).

*Gen.* Ending *-es*.

In certain words *-as* (-os), *-æs* occur, (cf. Siev., § 237, note 1): heofunas (gl. to caelorum) 18. 3 etc. (19); (caeli) 8. 20; 24. 30; 26. 64; *-æs* 11. 25; heofun (without ending) 18. 4. 32; 16. 3; þæs aldosacerdas 26. 3; *-æs* 26. 58; *-os* 26. 51; *-dægas* 28. 1, (but *-es* 12. 8; 20. 12); cælcæs 23. 26, (but *-es* 23. 25); fiscaes 7. 10. Isolated variations, prob. errors of scribe: dryhten (domini) 25. 18, (9 forms with *-es*); gode (dei) 12. 4, (31 godes); dead (mortis) 26. 66; deade (for deaðes) 4. 16 may be a form of the orig. u-dec. (cf. Siev., § 273, and s. Dat. below).

*Dat.-ins.* Ending *-e*.

Rarely *æ* (q) occurs (cf. Siev. § 237. note 2): domæ 12. 41. 42; (but 4. -e, 5. 21 etc.); wegæ 21. 32, (but 11. -e, 21. 8 etc.); tunæ 22. 5, (but *-e* 26. 6. 69); stanæ 24. 2, (but 6. -e, 27. 60 etc.); templæ 26. 55, (but 4. -e, 24. 1 etc.); deaða 15. 4 is an old dat. of the u-dec. (but 7 forms have *-e*, 14. 2 etc.); *-sceatta* 25. 27 may perhaps be wk.; þæm aldosacerdos (sg.) 26. 57 with Lat. nom. Without ending, disregarding syntax: win-geard minum 21. 28; of westem 12. 33; bebead wind 8. 26; hlaferd minne (gl. to domino meo) 22. 44 is acc., though the construction requires the dat. R' has to dæge 16. 3; 27. 19 etc.; formæ dæge 26. 17; but ɔridde dæg 16. 21 etc.; oper dæg 27. 62; hwile dæg 24. 42; in forma dæg 28. 1 etc.

β) Plural. *Nom.-acc.* Ending *-as*.

A few nouns have the weakened ending *-es* (12), *-æs* (4); one or two, the weak *-a*, (cf. Siev., § 237. note 3; Lindelöf, p. 104): gastes 12. 45, (but *-as* 8. 16); hlaferd 4. 3; 14. 17. 19, (but 7. *-as*, 15. 36 etc.); stanes 4. 3; 27. 51; foxes 8. 20; peofes 27. 44; ɔiofes 6. 19 (but *-as* 21. 13); earnes 24. 28; flodes 24. 38, (orig. u-dec., cf. Siev., § 273); sacerdes 12. 5; principes sacerdotum is variously glossed: aldosacerdas 21. 23. 45; 27. 6; *-os* 2. 4; 21. 15; *-æs* 26. 14. 59; 27. 1; *-um* 27. 20; *-un* 27. 41; alduras (*-æs*) sacerdas 26. 3; 27. 62.

Minor variations: riftra 13. 39; daga 12. 40, (perhaps gen., but cf. preo dagas, same verse); discipuli (after the Lat.) 5. 1 (but 3. *-as*, 12. 2 etc.); ficos 7. 16 (transfer of Lat. word, but cf. sacerdos above); winter, orig. of the u-dec. and mas. in WS., has acc. pl. winter 9. 20.

*Gen.* Ending *-a*.

hlaferde 15. 27 has *-e* for *-a*; the weak *-ana* (cf. Siev., § 237. note 4) appears in dagana 24. 29, (but daga 4. 2); without regard to case: gastas unclenra (*spiritum immundorum*) 10. 1.

*Dat.* Ending *-um*.

Often abbreviated in the MS. (28 *-um*, 85 *-um*); rarely wanting: alder sacerd 20. 18, (but 5 *-um*, 16. 21 etc.); gyrdels eowrum 10. 9.

Note 1. For *a* in pl. of *dæg* etc. s. I., § 2. b; for syncope in words of more than one syl. s. II., § 3.

Note 2. Mas. proper names follow the *o-dec.* quite regularly. There are some variations: e. g. *nom. sg.* Ione 12. 40, (but ionas 12. 41); pilatæ 27. 58; *-os* 27. 13, (but 4 *-us*, 27. 17 etc.); iosepe (acc.) 1. 16, (but Ioseph, nom. 1. 19 etc.); petre (nom.) 18. 21; 26. 33 (but 13 petrus); *gen. sg.*, alfees 10. 3; zebedeaes 4. 21; *-eæs* 27. 56; *-ees* 10. 2; *-es* 20. 20; (-eo 26. 37 may be an error); nouns in *-as* unchanged: esaias 13. 14; Ionas 12. 39. 41; Zacharias 23. 35; barachias 23. 35; *s* is wanting in: herode 14. 6, (but *-es* 22. 16 etc.); kasere 22. 21, (but *-es*, same verse); neglecting case, petrus (petri) 8. 14; otherwise *-es*: abeles 23. 35; dauiðes 9. 27 etc.; *dat. sg.*, iosefae 1. 18; pæm petra 16. 18 (but *-e* 26. 73 etc.); pylato 27. 2; otherwise regularly *-e*: criste 22. 42; daniele 24. 15; abrahame 1. 17 etc.; *nom.-acc pl.*, fariseos 21. 45; 22. 34; *-æis* 12. 2; *-ei* 9. 11. 14. 34, (but 16 *-as* 23. 13 etc., and 3 saduceas 16. 1 etc.); *gen. pl.*, saduceæ 16. 11, (but *-a* 3. 7; 16. 6; gomorrингa 10. 15; sodomingga 10. 15; gerasinga 8. 28; farisea 3. 7 etc.); *dat. pl.*, iudeum 28. 15. A few follow the *n-dec.*: e. g., *nom.* caifas 26. 3; *dat.* caifan 26. 57; *nom.* and *acc.*, barrabas 27. 16. 17; *acc.* *-an* 27. 20; *gen. pl.*, iudeana 2. 2 etc. (7).

b) *jo*-stems (cf. Siev., §§ 246—8):

*α)* Singular.

*Nom.-acc.* The wk. ending *-a* appears in bokera 8. 19 (but *-e* 13. 52); se bezera 3. 1, (but 3 *-e*, 14. 2 etc.); other nouns in *-ere* are regular; pytt 12. 11 has gemination; orig. long stems have *-e* as in WS., e. g., hwete 13. 29; esne 10. 25; ende 24. 13 etc. *Gen.*, *s* is wanting in: hwæte (tritici) 13. 36, (but *-es* 13. 25); leornere 10. 42; *-as* occur in: liceteras (hippocrissi) 23. 28 (mistake for licettunge); otherwise *-es*, e. g., læces 9. 12 etc. *Dat.-ins.* is regular, e. g., esne 8. 9 etc.

*β)* Plural.

*Nom.-acc.* A weak ending *-a*, *-e* (see above) appears in: bocera 7. 29; *-e* 15. 1; in 12. 38 quidam (pl.) de scribis is glossed, *sumne bokere*, as if acc. sg.; *-es* appears in: bokeres 23. 25, (but 11 *-as*, 26. 57 etc.); fisceres 4. 19, (-as 4. 18); hiordes 8. 33; in other cases *-as*.

*Gen.* bokere 5. 20, (but -a 9. 3; esna 25. 19). *Dat.* -um (6); abbrev., -um (5). In 8. 21 de discipulis is glossed, of leornere; *to* with acc. appears in 9. 37, to leorneras.

c) *wo*-stems (cf. Siev., §§ 249, 250):

a) Singular.

*Nom.-acc.* Besides snau 17. 2; 28. 3, only compounds of ðeow occur: lareuw 19. 16 etc. (17 forms, 10 in -u, 7 in -uw; s. I., § 22 b); latteuw 2. 6; efn-peuw 18. 29. *Gen.* -bearwes 21. 1 etc. (3). *Dat.-ins.* Ending wanting: æfn-ðeuw þinum 18. 33; ðeow minum 8. 9.

β) Plural.

*Nom.-acc.* Ending wanting or weak (cf. Siev., § 250 note 3): efnpeu (conseruos) 24. 49; ȝfn-peuwe (conserui) 18. 31; lateuw (duces) 15. 14, (but latewas 23. 16; latuwas 23. 24; larewas 23. 8). *Gen.* æfn-para (for peowa?) 18. 28.

### § 55. Neuter nouns of the *o*-dec.

a) Simple *o*-stems, (cf. Siev., as above, for all cases).

a) Singular. *Nom.-acc.* No ending.

The only exception noted is geate 7. 14 (should be nom.); in the phrase, purh naarwe geate 7. 13, geate must be taken as fem., if acc. Gemination is the rule: godspell, bispell (s. II. § 11); even unjustifiable gem.: fæss, geatt, (s. II., §§ 17. 20).

*Gen.* Ending *-es*.

These have *-æs* (-ęs): husęs 15. 24, (but -es 10. 6); hripęs 9. 38, -es 13. 30); folcæs 21. 23, (6 -es, 26. 47 etc.); rehtæs 25. 19; -ryhtæs 23. 28, (gerihtes 18. 23. 24); gæflaes 9. 9. Without ending, hrægl his 9. 20, (hrægles his 14. 36); heafod 10. 30.

*Dat.-ins.* Ending *-e*.

A few (11) have *-æ* (ę, ae): folcę 27. 24 (8 -e, 9. 35 etc.); hrægle 6. 28, (-e 9. 16; 22. 11); gebedę 21. 22; carcrænnę 25. 44, (carcerne 14. 10); husae 5. 15, (11 -e, 8. 14 etc.); londę 24. 18, (7 -e, 19. 1 etc.); midlę 18. 2, (4 -e, 18. 20 etc.); weorcę 16. 27; ripae 9. 38, (ripe 13. 30); yflę 5. 37. 39, (2 -e 6. 13; 21. 41). Ending wanting after prep.: to blod 23. 35; of goldhord 13. 52; butan ondget 15. 16; to weofud 5. 23, (to wibede 5. 23); in wuldor 16. 27, (in wuldre 6. 29 etc.); other cases: þæm mægden 14. 11; inwit (dolo) 26. 4 (= 'by means of'); wif 14. 3 (in appos. with dat., but gl. to Lat. acc.; the Lat. prevails).

β) Plural. *Nom.-acc.* Long stems of one syl. have no ending, short stems have *-u*, *-o*.

R' has -u in short stems: e. g., fasu 23. 5; fatu 12. 29 etc. gewritu 22. 29; 26. 54; gewriotu 26. 56 etc.; rarely -a, -e: sele-scota 8. 20, (-u 17. 4); getala 14. 21, (-u 24. 30); hole 8. 20, (cf. Siev., § 242, note 3, Ger. ed.). Ending wanting in: þa ceaf 3. 12. Words of more than one syl., except tintergu 25. 46, are without ending, (cf. Siev., § 243. 1): e. g., mægen 13. 58 etc. (7), (WS. has mægenu, cf. Cosijn, II., p. 11. b); tacen 16. 3 etc; ticcen 25. 33; ciken 23. 37; deoful 7. 22; 12. 27. 28 is neut. as in WS., (cf. n. p. deofla, Cosijn, II. p. 7; Lindis. has dioules, diowles).

Note. Setl, neut. in WS. (cf., Cosijn, II., p. 10. bot.), is mas. in R' (and Lindis.): settlas (acc.) 21. 12; setulas 23. 6, (cf. Lindis., same verse).

### *Gen.* Ending -a.

For -a appears -e, -æ in: weode 13. 36; þara mynetræ 21. 12. The wk. ending only in: leoman (= -ana) 5. 30, (but lioma 5. 29), Lindis. has liomana in both cases.

### *Dat.* Ending -um.

Often abbrev. (9 -um, 32 -um), e. g. wærceu(m) 23. 3 etc. In 5. 19 de mandatis istis is glossed: of ðisse beboda; Lindis. has of bobodum ðissum).

#### b) *jo*-stems: α) Singular.

*Nom.-acc.* Regular, but gemination is preserved in orig. short stems: cynn 24. 30 etc. (6); nett 4. 21 etc. (4); bedd 9. 6, (cf. Siev., § 231). *Gen.* Only excep. noted: edæs (= êowdes) 26. 31; neglecting case: rice þeos (f.?) 8. 12 (gl. to regni hujus); also rice (regni) 13. 11, (but 5 rices, 16. 19 etc.). *Dat.-ins.* -e wanting in: nett asendun (= um) 13. 47; otherwise regular: e. g. rice 8. 11 etc.

#### β) Plural.

*Nom.-acc.* Short stems are wanting; long stems have -u (-a, -e): getimbru 24. 1; mæru 15. 39; gemæru 24. 31; lendu 3. 4, (Corp. MS. has lendenu); with -e: geryne 13. 11; rice (regna) 4. 8; with -a: þwænga 23. 5. The form þeostre 6. 23; 10. 27; þiostre 4. 16; 8. 12; ð- 22. 13, may be sing, cf. þæt þeostre biþ 6. 23; but þeostru sint 6. 23; and with -a (prob. pl.): þeostra 25. 30; geþeostra 27. 45. *Gen.* No examp. *Dat.* -um (3); gemæru(m) 15. 22.

#### c) *wo*-stems. α) Singular.

*Nom.-acc.*, kneu 27. 29; treow 7. 17 etc. (11); treuw 12. 33; streu 7. 3. 4. 5. *Gen.*, melwæs 13. 33; treowes 3. 10; win. 21. 34; wintreos 26. 29, (with loss of *w*). *Dat.-ins.* from treo 24. 32.

#### β) Plural.

*Acc.*, cneu 17. 14; *Gen.* No examp. *Dat.* treowum 21. 8.

B. The *ā*-Declension.

Nouns of this class are feminine. There are simple *ā*-stems, *já*-stems, and *wā*-stems (cf. Siev., § 251).

§ 56. Simple *ā*-stems (cf. Siev., §§ 252—255).

a) Singular. *Nom.-voc.* Long stems have no ending, short stems, *-u*.

The *-e* of the obl. cases appears in: endunge 13. 39; 24. 14; gemunge 22. 8, (gemung 22. 10). cæstra (ciuitas) 5. 14. 35; 8. 34; -e 12. 25; 21. 10 is plainly due to the clas. Lat. form; saul 26. 38 has syncope as in obl. cas. Other nouns are regular: e. g., hwil 14. 15 etc.; lufu 24. 12; geofu 23. 19 etc.

*Acc.* Ending *-e*.

A few nouns (11) have *-æ* (*ē*, *ae*) (cf. Siev. § 252, note 1.): ael dingę 24. 48; constungae (for cost-) 6. 13; geþæhtungę 26. 4; -æ 22. 15, (-e 12. 14); arkę 24. 38; &ustrungę (abominationem) 24. 15; in pas sunrae 8. 31; cæstræ 8. 33; 27. 53; caestrae 4. 13 (2), (but 7 cæstre, 10. 23 etc.). Minor variations: ða geofu 23. 19 is prob. due to geofu (nom.), same verse; stemn (vocem) 12. 19 may be m., n. or mere gloss, neglecting case, (Lindis has stefn).

*Gen.* Ending *-e*.

gearwunga 27. 62 has *-a* (cf. Siev. § 255. 1); in other cases *-e* appears: ge-endunge 24. 3; nedle 19. 24 etc. No case of *-es*, (cf. Siev., § 252, note 2; Lindelöf, p. 108).

*Dat.* Ending *-e*.

Rarely *-æ* occurs, once each, *-a*, *-i*: stæfnæ 27. 46, (-e 24. 31; 27. 50); ge-mungæ 25. 10; þæ(m) gemungæ 22. 4, (m., n., if the abbrev. is properly expanded); cf. also þæ(m) gemunge 22. 3. 9; ceastræ 21. 17, (but 2 ceastre, 5 cæstre, 10. 15 etc.); ceapunga 22. 5; andsuari 2. 12, (cf. Siev., § 252, n. 1); variation of gend. is seen in: on þæ(m) halfe 25. 41; on pa halfe 22. 44. Taken with the nom. and acc. above, þære geofu 23. 18, shows *geofu* invariable in the sg.

b) Plural. *Nom.-acc.* Ending *-a* (-e).

Variations: cæstras 9. 35 takes mas. ending, (but -a 10. 5; -e 10. 23); hælettungæ 23. 7; neglecting case: blęd 7. 17. 18. Except wæda 28. 3; and culfra 10. 16 (perhaps wk.), other nouns have *-e*: e. g., peode 12. 21; hlafe (= lafe) 14. 20; stale 15. 19; efalsunge 26. 65 etc.

*Gen.* Ending *-a*.

*-e* occurs in ðeode 10. 5, (but -a 4. 15; 20. 25). No examp. of wk. ending.

*Dat.* Ending *-um*.

R' has 19 *-um*, 2 *-u(m)*; under feþran 23. 37 (-an for *-um*? or is it acc. pl. wk.?).

§ 57. *ja*-stems (cf. Siev., §§ 256—8).

## a) Singular.

*Nom.-voc.* No ending (few exceptions in WS., cf. Siev., § 258. 1). The *-e* of obl. cases appears in: ðrycnisse 24. 21; smyltnisse 8. 26; soþfæstnisse 5. 20; -hroernisse 24. 7; kennisse 1. 18, (but 9 forms have *-nis*, *-nes*, gelicnis 22. 20 etc.); cneorisse 12. 39; 24. 34, (cf. Siev., § 258. note 4); synne 12. 31, (Lindis. has synnæ alt. to synn); henne 23. 37, (Lindis., same); axe 3. 10, (Lindis. acas); þeowæ 26. 69, has *-u*, *-e* in WS. (cf. Siev., § 258. note 2); gemination is preserved in: sibb 10. 12. 13. *Acc.* Variations: cneorisſe 23. 36, (4 *-e*, 12. 41 etc.); (and) spurnisſe 13. 57, (-e 13. 21; 26. 31); hreuwnisſe 11. 20 (5 *-e*, 12. 41 etc.); other nouns *-nisſe* (41); neglecting case sibb (pacem) 10. 34; otherwise regularly *-e*. Gemination simplified in: nyte 7. 16, (but helle 5. 30 etc.; byrgenne 27. 64 etc.). *Gen.* helles 23. 15 shows the m.-n. ending (cf. Siev., § 252. note 2), (but helle 5. 22; 16. 18; 23. 33); unsyfernisse 23. 27 with *ɛ*; other forms *-nisſe* (12); byrgenne 27. 60. *Dat.* Regular. *-e* throughout: helle 10. 28 etc.; about 30 forms in *-nisſe*.

## b) Plural.

*Nom.-acc.* R' has *-e*, rarely *-a*, *-ae*: e. g., byrgenne 27. 52; adle 24. 7; cyðnisſe 27. 13 etc.; but synna 6. 14; *-ae* 9. 2, (5 synne 9. 5 etc.). *Gen.* *-e* for *-a*: gewitnesse (testium) 18. 16; synne (peccatorum) 26. 28 are the only forms noted. *Dat.* 15 *-um*, 3 *-u(m)*: e. g. synnum 1. 21 etc.

§ 58. *wa*-stems (cf. Siev., §§ 259, 260).

a) Sing. *Nom.* stowe peos (cf. § 57 a) 14. 15, (but -stouw 27. 33). *Acc.* stowe 12. 43 etc. (14). *Gen.* stowe 14. 35. *Dat.* stowe 24. 15; 26. 52; *-æ* 27. 33; scada 4. 16, (cf. Siev., § 260. note 2). b) Pl. *Acc.* stowa 24. 7.

---

Note. Fem. proper names follow the *ā-dec.* or take a Lat. termination, but often retain the Lat. nom. (when *-a*) unchanged in obl. cases, (such forms might be considered wk. with loss of *n*, common in R'): e. g., *Acc.* syria 4. 24; galilea 26. 32 etc.; bethaniæ 21. 17; but hierusalem 5. 35 etc.; ægypti (Lat. *-um*) 2. 13. 14. *Gen.* sidone 15. 21; tyre 15. 21 (Lindis., tyres); herodiade 14. 6; cessarię (Lat. *ae*) 16. 13; but maria 1. 16; iudea 3. 1; galilea 21. 11 etc. *Dat.* sidone 11. 21. 22; iordane 3. 5. 13 etc.; herodiadi (Lat. *-em*) 14. 3; bethsaidæ 11. 21; but bethania 26. 6; maria 1. 20; iudea 4. 25

etc.; galilea 3. 13 etc.; arimaðia 27. 57; chorazam 11. 21; hiericho 20. 29; tyro 11. 21; ægypto 2. 15. 19; hierosolimis 15. 1 etc.

### C. The *i*-Declension.

Most nouns of this class are mas. or fem., a few are neuter (cf. Siev., § 261).

§ 59. Masculine nouns of the *i*-dec. (cf. Siev., §§ 262—6).

a) Singular. *Nom.-acc.* Short stems end in *-e*, long stems in a cons.

R' has: cyme 24. 27. 37. 39; hryre 7. 27; mete 3. 4; 14. 15 etc. (5); stede 27. 33; hete 22. 18; dile 23. 23; oele 25. 3. 4; slite (nom.) 9. 16 seems to belong here, (Corp. MS. has se slite). Long stems: cirm 25. 6; dæl 24. 51 etc.; drync 10. 42; sel 26. 16; ymb-hwyrft 24. 14. The *-e* of short stems is often lost in North., (cf. Siev., § 263. note 5; Lindelöf, § 57. 1), but not in R'.

*Gen.* Ending *-es*:

cymes 24. 3; oèles 25. 8; dæles 12. 42.

*Dat.-ins.* Ending *-e*:

mete 10. 10 etc.; -gyte 23. 30; styde 21. 19. 20; 27. 48; dæle 16. 13 etc.

b) Plural. *Nom.-acc.* In WS. short stems have *-e*, oftener *-as* from the *o*-dec. (cf. Siev., § 263, note 2); long stems with few exceptions, *-as*, (cf. Siev., §§ 264—5).

R' has: *steppan* 5. 41, weak, (WS. *stæpas*, cf. Cosijn, II., p. 34); *beligas* 9. 17; *dæles* 27. 51; but *dæle* (*partes*) 2. 22.

*Gen.* Ending *-a*:

metta 26. 17 as if *jo*-stem, (cf. Siev., § 263. n. 3).

*Dat.* Ending *-um*:

-bendum 11. 2; stængum 26. 47. 55.

Note. *sæ* is mas. in R' so far as gender is indicated. The forms are: *nom.* *sæ* 8. 27; *gen.* *seæs* 18. 6; *saēs* 4. 15; *dat.* *pæ(m)* *sæ* 8. 24; *to* *sæ* 17. 27; *bi* *sæ* 13. 1; *on* *middu(m)* *sæ* 14. 24; *bi* *sæ* 4. 18; 15. 29; *sæ* 8. 26; *acc.* *sæ* 16. 5; 21. 21; *sæ* 23. 15; *sæ* 8. 18. 28. 32; *sæ* 4. 18; 13. 47; *sæ* 14. 22; *pone* *sæ* 14. 26; *pone* *sæ* 9. 1; *pone* *sæ* 14. 25. *sæ* 4. 13 is first part of comp.

§ 60. Neuter nouns of the *i*-dec. (cf. Siev., § 267). A few nouns originally of other declensions are so classed by Sievers. R' has:

gehæld (acc. s.) 27. 65, (cf. Siev., § 288. note 1); fullwiht (nom.

s.) 21. 25 (orig. fem., cf. Siev., § 267. b); fulluihte (dat. s.) 3. 7; this word and geþyld (acc. s.) 18. 26. 29 are undetermined in gender in R'; other nouns of this group show fem. forms, (s. § 61). Here may be placed (cf. Cosijn, II., § 23), -ryft (nom. s.) 27. 51; bryft (acc. s.) 5. 40; reade ryfte (ins. ? or acc. f., å-dec.?) 27. 28; cf. ðy ryhte (= ryfte), (ins.) 27. 31.

§ 61. Feminine nouns of the *i*-dec. (cf. Siev., §§ 268—9). R' has only long stems.

a) Singular. *Nom.* No ending :

cwaen 12. 42; mæht 28. 18; ned 18. 7; tid (gend. undeter.) 14. 15; 26. 18; but þæt tid 21. 34, (s. below, dat. and pl.); the comp. nawiht 18. 32 etc. (cf. Siev., § 267, note 3); ðeos forwyrd 26. 8, (cf. Cosijn, II., § 23); *onseone* 28. 3 (wk.? cf. Siev., § 269. note 4); æriste 22. 23.

*Acc.* No ending in WS.

In R' these nouns often take the *-e* of the *ā*-dec.: æfeste 27. 18, (Lindis. has æfista alt. to æfist); mæhte 9. 6. 8; 20. 25; -ae 10. 1, (but mæht 7. 29; 21. 23); scylde 18. 25. 32. 34, (but scyld 18. 27. 30); tide 20. 12, (but 9 tid, 12. 1 etc.); without ending: gemynd 26. 13; owiht 24. 17 etc.

*Gen.* Ending *-e*:

gebyrde 14. 6; weorulde 13. 22. 39. 40; 24. 3; 28. 20; but *-es* (cf. Siev., § 269. note 5) 13. 49; 24. 14.

*Dat.-ins.* Ending *-e*:

æriste 22. 28 etc. (3); -æ 27. 53, (gender undetermined in R'); mæhti 8.9 (cf. Siev., § 252, note 1); but, in hwilcæ (-e) mæhte (acc.?) 21. 23. 27; in wilce mæh(t)e 21. 24; weorlde 12. 32; forwyrd 7. 13; tide 8. 13 etc. (9); but, without ending, þære tid 20. 3; 27. 45. 46.

b) Plural. *Nom.-acc.* Ending *-e*:

æhte 19. 22; gemynde 23. 29; scylde 6. 12; -æ 6. 14; tide 16. 3.

*Dat.* tidum 21. 41.

Note. *â* (law) is indecl.: *Nom.* ae 22. 40; *æ* 7. 12; 11. 13; *acc.* ae 5. 17; *gen.* *â* 23. 23; *dat.* ae 5. 18; 22. 36; *âe* 12. 5, (cf. Siev., § 269. n. 3).

#### D. The *u*-Declension.

There are a few mas. and fem. nouns of this dec. in WS. and but a single neuter (cf. Siev. §§ 270—5).

§ 62. Mas. nouns of the *u*-dec. Most nouns, originally of this dec., have gone over to the *o*-dec.

R' has:

deað, flod, frið, ferh, hunger, had, seaþ, sumer, winter, (s. § 54). The only form among these clearly of the *u*-dec. is *deaða* (dat. s.) 15. 4, (cf. Siev., § 273, note 1). *sunu* alone preserves the old infl. pretty well, but has -*e*, -*æ*, -*u*, (1 -*a*) in obl. cases: a) singular. *Nom.-voc.*, *sunu* 26. 2 etc. (43); -*e* 17. 12 etc. (11). *Acc.*, *sunu* 23. 15, etc. (16). *Gen.*, *sunę* 24. 39; -*e* 1. 1; 24. 30. 37; -*u* 1. 1; 23. 35; 28. 19. *Dat.*, *minum sunæ* 2. 15; *sunu* 22. 2; (on, wip) *sunu* 21. 5; 12. 32 may be acc. b) Plural. *Nom.*, *suna* 10. 21; -*æ* 20. 21. *Acc.*, *sunu* 18. 25; 20. 20; but with -*as* (-*es*) from the *o*-dec., *sunas* 26. 37; -*es* 21. 28. *Gen.* weak, *sunena* 27. 56; but *sunu* 20. 20.

### § 63. Fem. nouns of the *u*-dec. (cf. Siev., § 274).

R' has the following:

a) Singular. *Nom.*, *hond* 5. 30; *se hōnd* 6. 3; *se dure* 25. 10, (these mas. ? or *se* for *seo*, cf. *sio* 6. 8); *cwern* 18. 6. *Acc.*, -*flor* 3. 12, (cf. Siev., § 274. n. 1); *hond* 9. 18 etc. (6); but *honde* 26. 23; -*æ* 12. 13; -*a* 12. 13, (with ending from *ā*-dec., or weak); *dure* 6. 6. *Dat.*, *honda* 3. 12; but *dure* 26. 71; 27. 60; *cweorne* 24. 41. b) Plural. *Nom.*, *honde* 18. 8; *duru* 16. 18. *Acc.* *honda* 8. 15; 22. 13 etc. (12); *mid honde* 26. 67. *Dat.* *hondum* 10. 10; 15. 20; -*u(m)* 4. 6; 26. 67; *durum* 24. 33.

### § 64. The only neut. is *feola* 27. 19 etc. (6), (cf. Siev. § 275).

For feh. *feoh*, *dat.* *feo*, s. I. § 21. a.

## II. The Weak Declension.

Most nouns of this dec. are mas. or fem., very few neuter (cf. Siev., §§ 276—280).

§ 65. Mas. nouns of the weak dec. (cf. Siev., § 277). Final -*n* of this dec. is usually lost in R', regularly in North. (cf. Siev., § 276, note 2).

a) Singular. *Nom.* Ending -*a*.

Variations: -*a* weakened to -*e*, -*æ*: *doeme* 5. 25; *intinge* 19. 10; *ge-roefe* 10. 3; -*æ* 27. 15, (but -*a* 27. 11. 14. 21. 23). -*an* from the obl. cases appears in: *lichoman* 26. 26 (but 6 -*a*, 5. 30 etc.); *cuman* 25. 43, (-*a* 25. 35); *willan* 18. 14; but -*æ* 26. 42, (-*a* 6. 10); other forms regular: *noma* 27. 32 etc.

*Acc.* Ending -*an*.

-*n* is lost (and vowel often modified) in: *andwlitu* 18. 10; *ond-*

wliotu 16. 3; 17. 6; 26. 67; witgu 4. 14 etc. (13); witga 21. 26; wihtga 21. 46, (-an 12. 17; 27. 9); ewyrdlu (detrimentum) 16. 26; wyrtryma 13. 21; wy(r)tryme 13. 6; wille 7. 21, (-an 12. 50; 21. 31); steorra 2. 2, (-an 2. 10); stæna fullę 26. 7 (seems to be fem.); olbend (st.) 19. 24; but with -u 23. 24; noma 1. 21. 23. 25, (perhaps neglecting case); loma 9. 2; lichoma 10. 28; 14. 12; leafa 9. 2; ge- 8. 10; 17. 20; -u 23. 28; 21. 21; intinge 27. 37; hlisa 14. 1; fola 21. 7, (-an 21. 2); gefea 25. 21. 23; bryd-guma 25. 1; teane 20. 13. These have -an: scetan 27. 59; cuman 25. 38. 44; cofan 6. 6.

### *Gen. Ending -an.*

*n* is lost except once: geroefe 27. 27; steorra 2. 7; witgu 10. 41 (2); lamwyrhtæ 27. 10; -e 27. 7; lichoma 6. 22; geleafa 8. 26; 16. 8; -e 6. 30, (gelefæn 14. 31); brydguma 9. 15.

### *Dat.-ins. Ending -an.*

*n* is lost in: ægsa 14. 26; 28. 4; egða 28. 8; ældra 21. 28; bearma 16. 6 etc. (4); doeme 5. 25; dwale 6. 24 (gedwolan 24. 24); gefea 13. 20 etc. (4); heage 21. 33, (cf. Lindis., Mark 12. 1); geroefe 28. 14; -æ 27. 2; -a 20. 8; gehrðefa 27. 11; -geleafa 18. 58; 17. 20, (-an 9. 29); loma 9. 2 (-an 9. 6); lichoma 6. 25; intinge 19. 3; -a 5. 32; mytte 5. 15; noma 7. 22 etc. (6), (but 10 -an, 7. 22 etc.); scape 26. 55; scua 4. 16; swira 18. 6; wihtga 24. 15; andwliota 11. 10; -u 26. 39. 67; wyrtruma 3. 10; -eke 25. 20; (-an 15. 38). A few have -an: folan 21. 5; fruman 19. 4 etc. (3); gallan 27. 34; willan 24. 13; tosagan 1. rub.

### b) Plural. *Nom.-acc. Ending -an.*

*n* is lost in: scape 27. 38; -hrðefe 9. 10; ge- 5. 46; noma 10. 2; myrðra 22. 7; hlisu 24. 6; græs-hoppa 3. 4; cempa 8. 9; kẽmpe 27. 27; doeme 12. 27; begengu 21. 35. 38; higu 10. 36; hiwæ 10. 25; (hiwen 10. 36); hine 10. 25. 36, (wk. ?); ældre 27. 1; -u 26. 57; eldre 21. 23; aeldra 26. 3, (ældran 27. 20; eldran 27. 3); nedniomu 11. 12; wyrhte 9. 38; -a 20. 1; -u 9. 37; andwliotu 6. 16; andwlitu 6. 17; gewitu 26. 60 (2); witga 5. 17 etc. (4); -u 11. 13 etc. (5), (-an 23. 31. 34); spearwas 10. 29. 31 has the st. ending -as.

These have -an: foðran 23. 30; loman 4. 24; lytlingan 19. 14; telgran 21. 8; steorran 24. 29; pearfan 26. 11.

### *Gen. Ending -ena.*

R' has also -ana (cf. Siev., § 276, n. 1): witgana 16. 14 etc. (4); (-ena 5. 12); worþana 6. 5; but scaþena 21. 13; geroefena 11. 19; olbendena 3. 4; weolan 13. 22 lacks -a; ældra 15. 2 has the -a of the o-dec.; hina 13. 52; 20. 1. 11, (cf. Siev., § 277, n. 1).

### *Dat. Ending -um.*

Weakened to *-an* in: ældran 26. 47; eldran 27. 12, (but 3 -um 16. 21 etc.). In other cases -um (13), -u(m), (4).

Note. eawis frina (publicanus) 18. 17; (nom. pl.) ewis-firinæ 21. 32; æwifirine 21. 31 seems to be a weak noun. Lindis. has bærsynnig; the other texts, mānfull.

§ 66. Fem. nouns of the weak dec. (cf. Siev. §§ 278—9). *-n* is usually wanting as above; vowel often *-e*.

a) Sing.

*Nom.-voc.* Ending *-e*. The borrowed *-u* of indecl. abstract nouns (cf. Siev., § 279) appears in: eorðu 2. 6; 4. 15, (but 4 -e, 5. 18 etc.); *-a* in: eorta 6. 21, (-e 13. 15); mohpa 6. 19. 20; without the usual *-esse* (as if a jā-stem), ælmes 6. 4. Others have *-e*: sunne 13. 6 etc. (4); fæmne 1. 23. *Acc.* ælmesse 6. 3; -isse 6. 2 (following the dec. of jā-stems.); *n* lost: ceke 5. 39; circae 16. 18; eorðu 5. 5; 2. 21; eordu 23. 15; eorðe 13. 5. 8. 23; -æ 5. 35; flega 23. 24; nedra 7. 10; sunne 5. 45; spyngi 27. 48; mintæ 23. 23; murra 2. 11; tonica 5. 40, (tunican 24. 18); beman 6. 2 has *-an*. *Gen.*, eorðu 5. 13 etc. (3); -e 11. 25 etc. (4); teoma 21. 5; heorta 12. 34. 35 (2), (-an 19. 8; 5. 8 dat.?). *Dat.-ins.*, eorðe 10. 15 etc. (10); -u 2. 20; (8 -an, 10. 29 etc.); heorte 5. 28 etc. (7); -a 15. 19; (-an 22. 37); *-an* have: circan 18. 17 (2); beman 24. 31; ascan 11. 21.

b) Plural.

*Nom.-acc.* Without *n*: nedra 10. 16; 23. 33; eastra 26. 17. 18, (-an 26. 2. 19); lilia 6. 28 (prob. fr. Lat. text) ðecele 25. 1, (cf. Ett., p. 581); sperta 15. 37; 16. 10, (cf. Toll.-Bos., spryte); tunica 10. 10. With *-an*; culfran 21. 12; exlan 23. 4; femnan 25. 1. 7. 11; -en: kægen 16. 19. *Gen.* only *ana*: nedrana 3. 7; 12. 34; widuwana 23. 14; uiperana 23. 33 (with Eng. in place of Lat. ending). *Dat.* heortum 9. 4; eortum 18. 35.

Note. Indeclinable except in dat. pl. (cf. Siev., § 279): mengu (nom.-acc.) 15. 39 etc. (25); mængu 21. 26 etc. (5); menigu 9. 8 etc. (5); mænigu 21. 36; to mengu 17. 14; to þæ(m) menigu (turbas) 11. 7; þæ(m) mengu (as if neut.) 15. 35 (Lindis. has ðæm menigo); mengum (dat. p.) 42. 46; mængum 13. 34 etc. Other nouns of this class are: hætu (acc.) 20. 12; to lengo 6. 27; bældu (acc.) 14. 27; hælo (dat.) 12. 13; snytru (nom.) 11. 19; snyttro (acc.) 12. 42.

§ 67. Neuter nouns of the weak dec. (cf. Siev., § 280).

R' has these forms:-

a) Singular. *Nom.*, ege 5. 38 etc. (5); êge 5. 29. With *-an* from the obl. cases: eagan 18. 9; egan 20. 15. *Acc.*, ege 18. 9; eare 10. 27; eara 26. 51 (as if m. or f. with loss of *n*); wonge 5. 39 (cf. Siev., § 280, note 1). *Dat.*, *n* lost, ege 7. 3. 4. 5. (6); 5. 38. b) Plural.

*Nom.-acc.* Most forms have *-an*: *eagan* 18. 9; *egan* 9. 29. 30; 17. 8; *egna* (for-*an*) 20. 33; *eagun* (with *-un*) 26. 43; but *egu* 13. 15; *ege* 13. 16; *earan* 11. 15; 13. 16. 43; *eara* 13. 9. *Dat.* *egum* 13. 15 etc. (3); *earu(m)* 13. 15; *earan* (= *um*) 13. 15.

### III. Minor Declensions.

§ 68. Isolated consonant stems (cf. Siev., §§ 281—4).

R' has only a few masculines and feminines.

a) Mas. nouns (cf. Siev., § 281. 1):

α) Singular. *Nom.-acc.* *monn* 12. 12 etc. (29); *mon* 9. 16 etc. (4); (*aldur-*) 9. 18; (*nænig-*) 9. 30; *an acc.* *monnu* occurs, 9. 9. 32; 10. 35; 11. 8; 15. 11 (2); 22. 11, as in North. (cf. Siev., § 281, note 1); *toð* 5. 38. *Gen.*, *monnes* 9. 6 etc. (33); *-æs* 10. 23. *Dat.*, *menn* 26. 24 etc. (9); *men* 26. 18; neglecting case: *monn* (*homini*) 20. 1; 22. 2; for *tōp* 5. 38, (Hatton has same; Lindis. *fore toðe*; Corp. for *teð*). β) Plural. *Nom.-acc.*, *menn* 5. 19 etc. (12); (*aldor-*) 20. 25; *monna* 15. 38, (cf. Siev. *ibid.*); *foet* 18. 8 etc. (4). *Gen.* *monna* 16. 23 etc. (8); *fota* 5. 35; 22. 44; *toða* 24. 51 etc. (6). *Dat.* *monnum* 23. 13 etc. (23); *-u(m)* 19. 12 etc. (7); *fotum* 7. 6 etc. (4).

b) Fem. nouns (cf. Siev., §§ 282—4). R' has only long stems:

α) Singular. *Acc.* (*nom. wanting*), *boc* 28. 20; *boec* (*libellum*) 5. 31; *bōec* (*librum*) 19. 7 (perhaps pl. for sg., cf. *boēc* 1. 1); *burg* 22. 7; *burh* 10. 11. *Gen.* *næhtes* (cf. Siev., § 284, note 4, end) 14. 25. *Dat.* (*æt*) *niht* 25. 6; (*on*) 2. 14; (*on*) *næht* 28. 13; (*to pisse*) *niht* 26. 34; *næhte* 26. 31, (cf. Siev., *ibid.*). β) Plural. *Nom.-acc.*, *niht* 12. 40; *næht* 12. 40; *eae* 7. 27; *eâe* 7. 25, follows *ā-dec.* (cf. Siev., *ibid.*); *burgas* 9. 35 with ending of *o-dec.* (Lindis. has same; Hatt. and Corp., *burga*). *Gen.*, *næhta* 4. 2.

§ 69. Stems in *-r* (cf. Siev., § 285).

a) Mas. Nouns:

α) Singular. *Nom.-acc.*, *fæder* 25. 41 etc. (41); *broþer* 17. 1 etc. (13); *b(r)oþer* 5. 23. *Gen.*, *fæder* 10. 20 etc. (9); *fader* 13. 43; (*-es* in: *fæderes* 21. 31); *broþer* 7. 3. 5; 14. 3. *Dat.*, *fæder* 5. 16 etc. (11); (dat. or acc.) 4. 21; 10. 29. 35; 13. 27; 15. 5; 20. 1; *broþer* 5. 22 etc. (5). β) Plural. *Nom.-acc.*, *broþer* 12. 46 etc. (7); *ge-* 4. 18. 21; *broþre* 22. 25; 25. 40; *ge-* 23. 8; *bloþræ* 1. 2; *broeþre* (with umlaut) 1. 11. *Gen.* *fædera* 23. 32; *fædra* 23. 30. *Dat.* *broþrum* 28. 10; *-u(m)* 20. 24.

b) Fem. nouns:

α) Singular. *Nom.-acc.*, *moder* 12. 50 etc. (22); *dohter* 10. 35 etc.

(6); dogter 15. 22; swuster 12. 50. *Gen.* moder 19. 12. *Dat.* moder 14. 8. 11; 15. 5; 2. 11 (acc. ?); dohter 21. 5.  $\beta$ ) Plural. *Nom.-acc.*, swæster 13. 56; swust(er) 19. 29.

Note. Only -er occurs in the above forms (cf. Siev., § 285. note 1).

### § 70. Stems in -nd (cf. Siev., § 286). R' has:

a) Singular. *Nom.-acc.*, hælend 20. 30 etc. (about 106); helend 14. 27 etc. (8); hælend 12. 1; abbrev. hæl(end) 17. 18 etc. (28); once, hælende (iesus) 16. 20; freond 20. 13 etc. (4); fiond 5. 43; 13. 39; feond 13. 25; sawend 13. 3. *Gen.* hælendes 1. 1; 27. 58. 59; abbr. hæl(endes) 26. 75; þæs hælend 27. 57. *Dat.* hælende 14. 29; without ending: þæ(m) hælend 26. 71; 27. 1; to hælend 18. 1; 17. 4; 26. 17; (prob. dat.) 8. 29; in other cases (4) abbrev., 26. 49 etc.  $\beta$ ) Plural. *Nom.-acc.* Only with -as from the o-dec.: feondas 22. 44; fiondas 5. 44; 10. 36. *Gen.* sukendra 21. 16. *Dat.* freondum 10. 21; ehtendum 5. 44; -foðendum 24. 19.

§ 71. Stems in -os, -es (cf. Siev., §§ 288—290). The only forms in R' showing any trace of this dec. are:

æchir (acc. pl.) 12. 1 (WS. éar); sigor (dat.-ins.) 12. 20 (cf. Siev., § 289 and note 1). cild has nom.-acc. pl., cild 19. 13. 14; gen. cildra 21. 16. Other words in R' originally belonging here are: hrife 1. 23 etc.; gehæld 27. 65; scip 8. 24 etc., (s. i-dec., o-dec.).

## 3. Adjectives.

### Declension of Adjectives.

#### § 72. The strong dec. of adjectives (cf. Siev., §§ 292—303).

##### a) Mas. and neut. adjectives:

a) Singular. *Nom.* o-stems: no ending. Variations: gelice 20. 1; genyhtsume 5. 37; opre 27. 38 (9 oper); wiðerdune (angusta) 7. 14; most forms regular. jo-stems: short, un-nytt 12. 36; long, clæne 23. 26 etc.; excep., eorra 18. 34, (but -e 2. 16; 22. 7). wo-stems: naru 7. 14; excep., merwe (tener) 24. 32. *Gen.* Ending -es. Excep.: medmiclæs 16. 8, (-es 8. 26; 14. 31); ending wanting: soþfest 23. 35; 10. 41, (-es 10. 41). *Dat.* Ending -um (8): ængum 22. 16 etc.; -u(m), (6); middu(m) 14. 24 etc.; neglecting case: micel (acc. ?) 28. 8; dysig 7. 26; oper 27. 62; yfle (ins. ?) 12. 35. *Ins.*: mickle 2. 10; 24. 30 etc.; opre 26. 42. *Acc.* o-stems: Neuters, no ending; masculines, -ne. Excep. alnæ 24. 14, (3 -ne, 16. 26 etc.); neglecting case: untrum 25. 44; dumb, deaf 9. 32; oper 2. 12; most forms (21) regular, -ne. Only long-stem neuters of the jo-cl. occur: neowe 26. 29 etc.; wyrþe 3. 8 etc.  $\beta$ ) Plural. *Nom.-acc.* *Mas.* o-stems: Ending -e. Excep.: -sekæs 4. 24, (3 -e, 8. 33 etc.); soþfestæ 23. 28, (-e 13. 17);

godne (mere error) 7. 17; ealla 21. 12, (35 -e, 10. 30 etc.); without ending: dysig 23. 17; eadig 5. 3. 11; monig 24. 5; 27. 52; oper 15. 30; *jo*-stems regular: unnytte 20. 3. 7; freo 17. 26; neowe 13. 52 etc.; *wo*-stems reg.: gearwe 24. 44; feawe 20. 16 etc. (4). *Neut.* *o*-st. Long monosyls., no ending: eall 24. 8 etc.; polysyls., -u (-e): monegu 25. 21. 23; -ige 7. 22; 13. 58; 27. 55; nænegu 13. 38; yflu 21. 41; eadige 13. 16; opre 25. 16. 20. 22, (Lindis. has oðero); without ending: micel 24. 24; *jo*-st.: eaðe 19. 26; ðeostru 6. 23; *wo*-st.: iara 22. 4. *Gen.* *o*-st. Ending -ra: ealra 1. 17; blindra 15. 14 etc.; *jo*-st., unclenra 10. 1. *Dat.* Ending -um (29), -u(m), (14): allum 10. 22 etc.; fremðum 17. 25 etc.; feawum 25. 23 etc.

Note. Foreign names with Eng. ending: cananisc 15. 22; nazarenisc 2. 23; cyreniscnæ (acc. m.) 27. 32; iudiscne 23. 15.

### b) Feminine adjectives:

*α) Singular.* *Nom.* *ā*-stems: Long monosyls., no ending. Excep.: ealle 22. 40, (but eall 21. 10 etc.). Others have -u, -o in WS.; but polysyls. with short rad. syl. usually, no ending, (cf. Siev., § 296, n. 1). R' has: micelu 28. 2; 24. 21, (but micel 8. 24. 26; 20. 29; 26. 47); with -e: yfle 16. 4, (yfel 12. 39). Sometimes long stems lack ending: oper 27. 61; 28. 1 (but operu 12. 13; 24. 41; -e 24. 41); woestig 14. 15. -æ occurs in: un-geleaf-fullæ 17. 17. -e for -u in wâ-st.: iare 22. 8. *Dat.* ending -re, -ra: a curious fluctuation in gender is found in 22.37, of alre heortan *bines*, of alra saule *þinre*, of *alra* mode *þin(um)*. Neglecting case: halig 24. 15. In the gl.: miclæ stæfnæ 27. 46; miccle stæfnæ 27. 50, *stæfn* seems to be m. n., and the case, ins. A middle vowel appears in jâ-st. middere 25. 6, (cf. Siev., § 297 and § 293, note 4). *Acc.* Ending -e: gode 13. 8 etc. Without ending: heh 4. 5; oper 13. 24. 31. 33; 19. 9 (-e 10. 23; 21. 33).

*β) Plural.* *Nom.-acc.* Ending -e, not -a, in R': ealle 18. 34 etc. (3); monige 19. 22 etc. (6); snottre 25. 2; dysige 25. 2; hæfige 28. 4; dryge 12. 43 etc. *wd*-st.: gearwe 25. 10.

Note. For the inflected forms of participles see §§ 33, 40, 41.

### § 73. The weak dec. of adjectives (cf. Siev., § 304):

*a) Singular.* *Nom.-voc.* *Mas.* Ending -a. also -e, -æ: leofa 3. 17. goda 25. 21 (but -u 25. 23); æftera 27. 64 etc.; with -e, -æ: dole 5. 22; blinde 23. 26; yfle 24. 48; 25. 26; se iungæ 19. 20; -e 19. 22; se stronge (fortem) 12. 29 (object in constr.); se dumbe 9. 33; se wiðerwearde 5. 25; (voc.) 4. 10; 16. 23; deoful-seoke 12. 22. *Neut.* One -æ: swiðræ (m.?) 26. 51, (-e 5. 29); otherwise -e: gode 13. 38; æftere 22. 39 etc. *Fem.* -æ in: winstraæ (m.?) 6. 3; but swiþre 6. 3; 5. 30; -a in proper adj.: magdalenisca 27. 56. 61; 28. 1. *Gen.* -n wanting in:

neowe 26. 28; soþfæste 27. 24; but halgan 28. 19; micelan 5. 35; hreofan (as sb.) 26. 6. *Dat.* -n wanting in: soþfæste 27. 19; 25. 37; swælce 18. 5; towarde 12. 32 (-an 3. 7); wiðerwearde 5. 25; ufa-warde, neopewearde 27. 51; snottra 7. 24. Other cases (9) have -an: halgan 1. 20 etc. *Acc. Mas.* -n wanting: instondenlice 6. 11; dæghwæmlicu 6. 11; unnytte 25. 30; nazarenisco 26. 71; galiliscu 26. 69; with -an: ondwardan 28. 15. *Fem.* regular, -an: swiðran 20. 21 etc. (7); winstran 20. 23 etc. (3); halgan 4. 5; 27. 53. *Neut.* reg.: soþfæste 27. 4; but, on þæt swiðran wonge 5. 39.

b) Plural. *Nom.-acc.* -n wanting (perhaps st. instead of wk. in some cases): blinde 11. 5; 15. 30 etc. (7); dumbe 15. 30. 31; deafe 11. 5; deaðe (= -de) 10. 8; -a 8. 32; deade 11. 5; -a 8. 22; dysige 25. 3; -ege 25. 8; gode 13. 48; 5. 45; soþfeste 13. 43 etc. (4); snottre 25. 4 etc. (3); stanige 13. 20; ealde 13. 52; healte 15. 31; 21. 14; halte 15. 30; 11. 5; hreofe 11. 5. 8; untryme 14. 14; tungulkræftgu 2. 1; deoful-seoka 8. 28; but -an: erran 12. 45. *Gen.* elðeo-digra 27. 7; but meoduma pissa 25. 45. For ord. numerals see § 77.

### Comparison of Adjectives.

#### § 74. Regular comp. (cf. Siev., §§ 307—11).

a) Comparative: in aldre (as. sb.) 9. 34; diorre (n. p.) 6. 26; eþre (n. s. n.) 9. 5; 19. 24; wisfæstre (n. s. m.) 19. 21; ârefrendlicre (n. s. n.) 10. 15; strængra (n. s. m.) 3. 11; hæfigra (n. p.) 23. 23.

b) Superlative: mængistu (n. pl.) 11. 20 (cf. Lindelöf, § 64); æreste (n. and a. s. m.) 23. 6; 22. 25. 38; (n. p.) 20. 16; -u 19. 30 (2); 20. 8. 10; erestu 20. 16.

#### § 75. Irregular comp. (cf. Siev., §§ 312—14).

a) Comparative: wyrse (n. s. m.) 12. 45; 27. 64; bettra (n. s. m.) 12. 12; (n. p.) 10. 31; lessa (n. s. m.) 11. 11; se nærra 21. 31; mare (n. s. m.) 23. 11 etc.; -a 12. 6. 41. 42; (n. s. n.) 13. 32; -æ (n. s. m.) 11. 11; -ae (n. s. n.) 5. 47; -e 6. 25 etc. (3); (n. pl.) 20. 25; ytterre (a. s. n.) 25. 30; -æ 22. 13.

b) Superlative: wyrresta (ac. s.) 12. 45; æt nihste 25. 11; æt nehsta 21. 37; næhsta (d. s. m.) 20. 14; -u (a. s. m.) 5. 26; 22. 39; (n. p.) 20. 12. 16; 19. 30; nebstu(m) 19. 19; næhstum 20. 8; nextan (a. p.) 5. 43; mæste (n. s. f.) 21. 8; (n. s. n.) 22. 38; læsest (cf. Siev., § 312, note 1; Lindelöf, § 64, 2) 5. 19; 10. 42; 13. 32; -æst 2. 6; (þe, se) læesta 5. 19; 25. 40; þe lætest (for lætemest, cf. Siev., § 314) 22. 27; þa ytmæste (cf. Siev., ibid. note 2) 8. 12; þe ytmæste dæg 12. 45; forþmestu (a. p.) 23. 6; þæs medmasta 6. 30 (cf. Siev., § 312, note 1); forma (n. s. m.) 20. 27; in forma dæg 28. 1; formæ (d. s. m.) 26. 17.

#### 4. Numerals.

. § 76. Cardinal numerals (cf. Siev., §§ 324—27):

1) an (n. m.) 5. 29 etc. (21); ane (solus) 24. 36; 14. 23 (2), (inflected wk.); an (n. n.) 6. 29 etc. (5); (n. f.) 5. 41; with neg.: nan 5. 34; 6. 23; 22. 25; anes (g.) 21. 24; anum (d. s.) 18. 5 etc. (11); -u(m) 25. 40; 27. 14; ænne (a. m.) 5. 36; 13. 46; 18. 16. 28; 23. 15; enne (cf. Siev., § 324, 1) 17. 8; 18. 6. 10; 27. 15. 16; an (a. n.) 18. 9 etc. (10); ane (a. f.) 6. 27 etc. (3); anra (g. p.) 16. 27; 18. 35; anum (d. p.) 12. 4. 2) twægen 19. 5. 6 etc. (16); twegen 4. 18 etc. (12); twege 5. 41; 18. 20; twegra 21. 31; 27. 21; begen 15. 14; 13. 30; ba (m.) 27. 44; bu (n.) 9. 17; tu (n.); 25. 32; (twa alt. to) tu (m.!) 9. 28; twa (n.) 18. 9; (f.) 10. 10; 18. 8; 24. 41; (mas.!) 9. 27; 18. 8; twæm 6. 24 etc. (4); twæ(m) 23. 15; 26. 2. 3) þreo (m.) 12. 40; 18. 20; (f.) 15. 32; 12. 40; (n.) 17. 4; neglecting case: twegen oppe þreo (for twegra, preora) 18. 16; ðrim (þrim) 13. 33 etc. (4). 4) feower 16. 10; fro(m) feowre windu(m) 24. 31 (cf. Siev., § 325). 5) fif 14. 17. 19 etc. (10); fife (attrib.) 25. 3; (alone) 25. 2 (2); 25. 16. 20. 6) sex 17. 1. 7) seofun 18. 21. 22; 15. 34. 36; siofun 12. 45 etc. (5); siofuna (alone) 22. 28. 9) nigon 18. 12. 13. 10) tēn 25. 1; ten 18. 24; 25. 28; tene (alone) 20. 24. 11) enlefān 28. 16. 12) twælf 10. 1; 14. 20; 26. 20. 53; twelf 9. 20; 10. 2; 20. 17; twelfe (attrib.) 19. 28 (2); 26. 47; (alone) 11. 1; twælfē 10. 5; 26. 14. 14) feower-tene 1. 17 (3). 30) ðrittig 26. 15; 27. 3; þ- 13. 8. 23; ðrittig 27. 9. 40) feowertig 4. 2 (2). 60) sextig 13. 8. 23. 70) hund-seofuntigum 18. 22. 90) hund-nigontig 18. 12. 13. 100) hund-teantig 19. 29; -teontig 13. 8. 23; 18. 12; hundred 18. 28, (cf. Siev., § 327). 1000) pusend 5. 41 etc. (3); þusenð 14. 21; (fif, feower) þusenda 16. 9. 10; ten þusende 18. 24.

§ 77. Other numerals (cf. Siev., §§ 328—31).

a) Ordinals:

1st) forma 20. 27; 28. 1; -æ 26. 17, (s. § 75); æreste 23. 6 etc. (s. § 74). 2d) oþer 22. 26 etc. (s. § 72); æftera 21. 31 etc. (s. I., § 1, c). 3d) þridde (n. m.) 22. 26; ð- (ac. m.) 27. 64; (d.-i.?) 26. 44; 17. 23; 16. 21; -a (d. f.) 20. 3; ðrydda (d.-i. m.) 20. 19. 4th) feorþe (d. f.) 14. 25; feorþan (a. m.) 5. 26. 6th) sextan (d. f.) 20. 5; syxta (d. f.) 27. 45. 7th) þæm siofund 22. 26 (Lindis. seofunda). 9th) nigópan 20. 5; 27. 45. 46. 11th) ællefta (d. f.) 20. 6; elleftan 20. 9.

b) Distributives (cf. Siev., § 329):

Here belong by origin the prepositions: betwih 18. 15; 26. 58; (also written betwihe 20. 26; -twig 24. 10); betweon 3. 9; 11. 11; -twion 16. 8. 7; 23. 35; betwihs 21. 25; -twix 20. 26; 27. 56. In 26. 22, *singuli* is glossed: anlepum (cf. Siev., ibid., note 2).

## c) Multiplicatives:

anfald 6. 22; twæ(m) fældu(m) 23. 15; hundteantig falde 19. 29.

## d) Numeral adverb:

priowa 26. 34; priuwa 26. 75.

## 5. Pronouns.

§ 78. Personal pronouns without distinction of gender (cf. Siev., § 332).

## a) First person.

a) Sing. *Nom.*, ic 10. 35; 12. 6 etc.: with neg.; nic 13. 29; 25. 9. *Gen.*, min 22. 18; 25. 36 etc. (often as possessive, s. § 79). *Dat.*, me 20. 13; 21. 2 etc. (about 66); *Acc.*, me 18. 32; 19. 21 etc. (19); mec 18. 21; 19. 17; 25. 35 etc. (33). β) Dual. *Nom.*, wit 20. 22. *Dat.*, unc 9. 27. *Acc.*, unc 20. 30. 31. γ) Plural. *Nom.*, we 3. 15; 6. 12; 7. 22 etc. (37); wæ 6. 31 (2); wę 23. 30. *Gen.*, (as pos.) ure 23. 30; 8. 17 etc. *Dat.*, us 27. 4; 22. 17 etc. (23). *Acc.*, us 6. 13 (2); 27. 25; 6. 12 (dat.?); usic 1. 23; 8. 25. 29. 31 (2); 20. 7.

## b) Second person.

a) Sing. *Nom.*, þu 5. 25; 6. 18 etc.; ðu 5. 25 etc.; *Gen.*, (as pos.) þin 15. 28; 6. 22 etc. *Dat.*, þe 18. 32 etc. (37); ðe 11. 23 etc. (30). *Acc.*, þe 4. 6; 5. 29 etc. (12); ðe 25. 38 etc. (8); þec 5. 25; 9. 22 etc. (11); ðec 18. 8. 9 etc. (6); þæc 19. 19; 26. 73; ðæc 21. 21. β) Dual. *Nom.*, git 4. 19; 9. 28 etc. (8). *Dat.*, inc 9. 28. 29; 20. 23; 21. 2. 3; 28. 10. γ) Plural. *Nom.*, ge 12. 7; 13. 14 etc. *Gen.*, eower 12. 11; 18. 19; 23. 11 etc., (often pos, 5. 16 etc.). *Dat.*, eow 6. 8. 9 etc. (about 122); heow 6. 14; iu 5. 32. *Acc.*, eow 7. 23; 5. 46 etc. (26); eowic 10. 23; 11. 29 etc. (19).

## § 79. Possessive Pronouns (cf. Siev., § 335):

a) *Gen.*, mines 12. 50 etc. *Dat.* (sg.), minum 2. 15 etc.; (pl.), 13. 30 etc. *Acc.* (sg. mas.), minne 20. 23 etc. (5); mine 20. 4. 7; (sg. fem.) 19. 20; 16. 18 etc. *Nom.* (pl. mas.), mine 12. 48 etc.

b) *Nom.-acc.* (s. and p.), ure 24. 42; 6. 12 etc. (9); uru (n. s. n.) 21. 38; userne (a. s. m.) 6. 11; *Dat.* (pl.) urum 8. 17; 21. 42.

c) *Gen.*, pines 7. 5 etc. (pine 7. 3). *Dat.* (s. mas. neut.), pinum 1. 20 etc.; (pl.), 12. 37 etc.; (fem.) pinre 22. 37. *Acc.* (s. m.), pinne 11. 10 etc. (3); pine 5. 43 etc. (3); (fem.), 6. 6; 12. 13 etc. *Nom.-acc.* (pl. m.), 9. 14; 12. 2 etc.; (fem.), 18. 8 etc. *Gen.* (pl.), pinra 22. 44; pine (for pinra?) 5. 29. 30.

d) *Dat.* (s.), incrūm 9. 29.

e) *Gen.*, eowres 5. 45; 25. 8. *Dat.* (m. and n.), eowrum 7. 11; 9. 4 etc.; (fem.), eowre 19. 8. *Acc.* (s. f.), eowre 6. 1; 15. 3. *Nom.*

*acc.* (p.) eowre (m.) 5. 44 etc.; (f.) 6. 14; (n.) 13. 16 etc. -*a* 19. 8; (3.) 23. 38; *Gen.* (p.), eowra 23. 32; (nom. s. f.) 5. 12; 10. 13; (ac. p.) 6. 15.

### § 80. Pronoun of the third person (cf. Siev., § 334):

a) Sing. α) Mas. and neut.: *Nom.* (m.) he 8. 23; 13. 3 etc.; (n.), hit 13. 27. 32 etc. *Gen.*, his 7. 9. 26 etc.; is 7. 24; 22. 24; 24. 46. *Dat.* him 15. 12 etc. (174); hi(m) 16. 17 etc. (34); heo(m) 26. 64; 27. 11. *Acc.* (m.), hine 5. 15. 25 etc. (120); hinæ 22. 15; 26. 16 etc. (8); hinae 8. 31; (n.), hit 12. 44; 14. 12 etc. β) Fem.: *Nom.*, heo 9. 18. 21; hio 1. 18; 5. 35 etc. (8); hiu 5. 32; 8. 15 etc. (7). *Gen.*, hire 2. 18; 9. 25 etc. (6); hiræ 23. 37; 26. 13. *Dat.*, hire 14. 4. 7 etc. (15). *Acc.*, heo 9. 18. 22; hio 1. 19; eo 16. 18; hie 1. 19; 16. 4; hiae 5. 30; 8. 15; hiæ 10. 13; 12. 41. 42; 15. 23 (2).

b) Plur. *Nom.-acc.*, heo 7. 20; 20. 33 etc. (11); hio 20. 2; 21. 37; hiæ 28. 8; 13. 28 etc. (83); hię 17. 5. 24 etc. (13); hiae 6. 7; 9. 31 etc. (8); hie 10. 25; 16. 4 etc. (64); hye 27. 4; hy 26. 4. 5; hi 21. 34 etc. (4); hī 20. 31; 21. 15. 25; he (for heo) 4. 6; 7. 16; 14. 17; 16. 28; 27. 15. *Gen.*, heora 23. 31 etc. (75); heor 27. 30; eora 6. 15; 7. 16 etc. (9); hiora 1. 21; 4. 21; 9. 2; 17. 6; 23. 5. *Dat.*, heom 6. 1 etc. (64); heo(m) 15. 3 etc. (67); him 2. 7; 3. 7 etc. (9); hi(m) 26. 19.

### § 81. The simple demonstrative pronoun (cf. Siev., § 337):

a) Sing. α) Mas. and neut.: *Nom.*, (m.), se 6. 4; 7. 21 etc. (often); sē 21. 42; 27. 15; þe 16. 3; 18. 14 etc. (13); (n.), þæt 2. 23; 3. 5 etc. *Gen.*, þæs 18. 10 etc. (44); ðæs 1. 1; 2. 9; þas 2. 20; 9. 23; 13. 27. *Dat.*, þæm 18. 14 etc. (50); þæm 7. 9; ðæm 21. 33 etc. (13); ðæm 2. 8; þæ(m) 25. 28. 29 etc. (53); þem 8. 22; 12. 13; 17. 13; ðæ(m) 3. 11 etc. (3). *Acc.* (m.), þone 1. 6. 25 etc. (43); þon 27. 66; þon(e) 5. 26; þonne 17. 27; þon(ne) 18. 2; þane 4. 18; 7. 14; 21. 38; ðane 21. 33; þæne 6. 1; 7. 13; 21. 39; 25. 28; 26. 29; þene 24. 45; þene 25. 30; 27. 15; ðene 20. 22; (n.), þæt 5. 24. 39 etc. (35); ðæt 5. 39. *Ins.*, þy 6. 14; 5. 25 etc. (14); ðy 16. 7 etc. (3); þon 4. 2; 6. 8 etc. β) Fem. *Nom.*, sio 16. 4 etc. (5); seo 5. 30; 13. 2; 22. 23; se (for seo? cf. he for heo) 6. 3; 25. 10; 27. 61; siu 9. 25; 8. 32 etc. (4); sie 21. 10. *Gen.*, þære 21. 5; 27. 60; pare 1. 1; 5. 31; þara 24. 15; 23. 23; 26. 28; 14. 35; 21. 17. *Dat.*, þære 9. 22; 18. 1 etc. (24); þara 7. 14; 21. 43; 24. 36; 27. 61. *Acc.*, þa 2. 7; 12. 1 etc. (23); ða 23. 19; 24. 38.

b) Plur. *Nom.-acc.*, þa 5. 5; 21. 9; 23. 13 etc. (128); ða 7. 6 etc. (6). *Gen.*, þara 14. 20. 21 etc. (36); ðara 18. 12; paræ 25. 2; þæræ 16. 28; þære 10. 29; 21. 31; 27. 52. *Dat.*, þæm 18. 17 etc. (58); ðæm 19. 11 etc. (10).

### § 82. The compound demonstrative pronoun (cf. Siev., § 338).

a) Sing. α) Mas. and neut.: *Nom.* (m.), þes 21. 10 etc. (7); þes 9. 3; ðeos 27. 47; þios 18. 4, (Lindis. has ðes in both cases); (n.), þis 3. 3. 17 etc. *Gen.* þisses 13. 15; 20. 12; 27. 24; neglecting case: rice þeos (regni hujus) 8. 12. *Dat.*, þissum 13. 54. 56; þissu(m) 8. 9 etc. (4); neglecting case: þios 18. 7. *Acc.* (m.), þisne 11. 23; 28. 15; þeosne 27. 8; n., þis 1. 20; 8. 9 etc. β) Fem. *Nom.*, þeos 14. 15 etc. (3); ðeos 26. 8; þios 26. 13. *Gen.*, þisse 13. 22. *Dat.*, þisse 17. 20 etc. (5); ðisse 19. 28; þissere 21. 21. *Acc.*, þas 11. 16 etc. (16); ðas 17. 9.

b) Plur. *Nom.-acc.* þas 4. 3; 19. 20 etc. (38). *Gen.*, þissa 6. 32; 18. 6; 25. 45; -e 5. 19; 18. 14; -ę 10. 42. *Dat.*, þissu(m) 3. 9; 22. 40; ðissum 18. 10; þassu(m) 8. 32.

### § 83. The relative pronoun (cf. Siev., § 340):

The particle pe (used alone) 10. 6. 32; 9. 8; 7. 2 etc.; oftener with demonstrative: seþe 10. 37; 11. 11 etc.; se þe 26. 14. 25 etc.; ðe þe 17. 27; þone þe 28. 5 etc.; þa þe 16. 23 etc.; (þa þa, same verse); excep.: forþon þi 5. 35; þam thi 21. 42.

### § 84. The simple interrogative pronoun (cf. § 341):

*Nom.* (m.), hwa 10. 11. 42 etc.; (n.), hwæt 9. 13; 12. 7 etc. (15); *Gen.*, hwæs 6. 8; 18. 19 etc. *Dat.*, hwæm 12. 27; 17. 25; hwæ(m) 11. 16 etc. (3). *Acc.* (n.), hwæt 6. 3. 25 etc. (31); huat 16. 13. *Ins.*, (for) hwon 8. 26; 9. 14; (to) 26. 8. 50; forhwon 9. 4 etc. (16); forwon 17. 19; 22. 18.

Note. The comp. (cf. Siev., § 341. n. 2: gehwæt (quisque) 15. 17; gehwæm 16. 27.

### § 85. Interrog. pronouns inflected as adjectives (cf. Siev., § 342):

a) hwæþer 23. 19 etc. (4); hweþer 9. 5; 21. 31; hweþre 23. 17;  
b) hwilc 15. 5; 6. 27 etc.; hwylc 24. 3; hwele 12. 48; hwælc 7. 9;  
12. 32; 14. 36 etc.; hwylces 22. 28; hwilce 21. 27; 12. 48; -æ 21.  
23; hwylce 5. 46; 18. 18; c) hulic 8. 27; d) Correlative to hwilc:  
swilce 9. 8; 24. 21.

### § 86. Other pronouns (cf. Siev., §§ 343–49).

sum (quidam) 12. 47 etc.; -ne 8. 2; 12. 38; sume 21. 8; 16. 14 etc.; sumu(m) 25. 15 etc. hwæt-hwugu (aliquid) 5. 23; 20. 20. awiht (aliquid) 21. 3; owiht 24. 17 etc.; neg.: nawiht 26. 62; nauwiht 21. 19 etc.; næht 23. 16; nohte 5. 13. æghwilc (omnis) 12. 25 etc.; -re 23. 27; -e 13. 47 etc.; æghwelcu(m) 4. 4; ægwilc 7. 17; 12. 36. þæt ilce (eundem) 26. 44; (ipsum) 27. 44. sylf (ipse) 3. 4; -e 12. 48; 23. 3; selfe 1. 21; -a 6. 34; selfne 27. 42; seolfne 19. 19; 22. 39; 27. 40; sylfum 19. 12; seolfum 12. 25 etc. (5). Swa hwa swa (qui-cumque) 15. 5 etc. For oþer, ænig, nænig, see § 72.

## Conclusion.

The evidence afforded by the vowel-system of R' (cf. Pt. I.<sup>1)</sup>) that the language of the gloss in question occupies an intermediate and independent position between the Northumbrian dialect on one side, and the dialects of Wessex and Kent on the other, is still farther confirmed by the preceding examination.

Lindelöf has pointed out (Spr. d. Rit. v. D. p. IV.) that the chief characteristics of the Northumbrian dialect, in contradistinction to other dialects, are to be found in the inflectional system. He says: »Die alten Flexionsverhältnisse sind in »dieser Mundart durch Analogiebildungen jeder Art in eine »vollständige Auflösung geraten, und zwar zu einer Zeit, wo »das WS. noch ein regelmässiges Flexionssystem aufzuweisen »hatte. In dieser Zerrüttung spielt fremder Einfluss sicher »keine Rolle etc.«

The effect of analogy in reducing inflectional forms to uniformity and in confusing declensions has not gone so far in R' as in Rit., but its disturbing influence is, nevertheless, plain.

Gemination is preserved by analogy in the nom.-acc. sg. of *jô*- and *jâ*-stems (cf. §§ 54, 55, 57), and a geminated cons. is often introduced into the 2d and 3d sg. pres. ind., and into the sg. imp. of verbs in *-jo* (cf. §§ 46 and 49), also in the nom.-acc. sg. of nouns not *jô*-stems, (cf. § 55). The ending of the nom.-acc. pl. of mas. nouns of the *o*-dec. is extended in some cases to fem. and neut. nouns (cf. §§ 55, 56, 68), and even to the mas. *sunu* of the *u*-dec. (cf. § 62). The ending of the obl. cases sometimes appears in the nom. sg. (cf. §§ 56, 57, 65 etc.).

While the consonants (except *n*) of inflectional terminations are preserved, there is a tendency to reduce vowels to *-e*. To be sure this has not gone very far (see below), yet even at the period of this gloss (s. I, p. 83) a beginning had

---

1) Pt. I. was presented as a dissertation to the Phil. Faculty of the University of Göttingen in July 1890, and was published in 1891.

been distinctly made in the direction along which the dialect of the Midland region advanced toward Middle and Modern English.

A comparison of the forms in R', given above, with the chief characteristics of the North. dialect based upon peculiarities of inflection (cf. Bouterwek, p. CLIX ff.; Lindelöf, p. IV.), shows a clear line of demarcation.

1. The characteristic of the nom.-acc. pl. of mas. nouns of the *o*-dec. is the frequent weakening of *-as* to *-es* (*aes*), (cf. § 54); *-o* never occurs and *-a* very rarely.

2. The nom.-acc. pl. of the fem. *â*-dec. has the ending *-e* (*-æ*), rarely *-a*, (cf. §§ 56. 57), never *-o* from the n-dec., as often in Rit.

3. The ending *-es* rarely (2) appears in the gen. of st. fem. nouns, while it is more common in Rit. than the proper ending *-e*. There is however some confusion of gender as indicated by modifying pronouns and adjectives (cf. §§ 54—72).

4. The 3d sg. pres. ind. and the pl. pres. ind. and pl. imp. (st. vbs. and Class I., wk.) are not kept clearly apart by difference of ending; *-ep* often occurs in the pl. (ind. and imp.), and *ap* often in the 3d sg. pres. (cf. §§ 25. 26. 30). But there is no case of the ending *-es*, *-as* characteristic of North., (cf. Lindelöf, ibid., and pp. 76—78).

5. The loss of *n* in the inf., the opt. pl., and the weak dec. of nouns, which is the rule in North., is very common in R' (s. §§ 28. 31. 65—7. 73), but *n* is often retained.

6. *pe* for *sē* (dem. pro.) occurs (cf. § 83), but not *ðio* for *sēo*.

For other minor variations, e. g., *-as* for *-es* in gen. sg., *-ana* in gen. pl., of mas. and neut. nouns of the st. dec.; him (sg.), heom (pl.). etc., see the several paragraphs above. The departure of the text from standard WS. has been noted in each case and need only be referred to here.

The prepositions *in* and *mid* (*mið*) furnish valuable evidence in regard to dialect (cf. Napier, Ang. X., 138. 139) and deserve a few words in closing. *in* is common in North., seldom used in WS., which prefers *on* (*an*). R' has 428 *in*, 94 *on*, 1 *'an*. »In echtw. denkmälern wird *mid* stets mit

dem dat. bzw. instrumental konstruiert« (cf. Napier, *ibid.*). In R' *mid* (*mið*) appears frequently (21 times) with the acc., as in Chad, and North. Gl. (cf., for the latter, Bouterwek, p. CLXIV):

With the dat.	17	<i>mid</i> ,	17	<i>mið</i>	.....	34
" "	ins.	1	"	1	"	2
" "	acc.	16	"	5	"	21
Undetermined	19	"	4	"	.....	23

In conclusion I gladly acknowledge again my obligation to my friend and teacher, Prof. Dr. Alois Brandl, of the Strassburg University, at whose suggestion the work was begun, and whose encouragement and helpful criticism have never failed me.

---

### Corrections and Additions to Pt. I.

- P. 5, n. 1. C. 3, comma after gloss.
- P. 6, l. 15, read 'hand'.
- P. 13, l. 10, read '126 Mal'.
- P. 14, l. 14, add 'was 26. 1'.
- P. 16, l. 22, add 'hefæþ 5. 32'.
- P. 21, l. 12, add 'oelebearwes 21. 1; 24. 3; 26. 30'.
- P. 21, l. 10, (fr. bot.) read 'uulf-'.
- P. 24, l. 11, read '2 Mal' instead of 'mehrmals'.
- P. 24, l. 8, (fr. bot.) read 'aelmaehtgan'.
- P. 24, l. 12, erase '24. 9'.
- P. 28, l. 20, (fr. bot.) read 'nissum'.
- P. 29, l. 16, erase 'gewerfe 18. 3', and introduce, p. 36, l. 16.
- P. 29, l. 16, after '9. 22' add '17. 7'; after '16. 23' add '-æþ 7. 6'.
- P. 30, l. 8, (fr. bot.) read 'heagospinnu(m)'.
- P. 31, l. 10, read 'sprece (pres. ind. st. sg.) 13. 13'.
- P. 31, l. 13, (fr. bot.) read '-peuwa'.
- P. 32, l. 2, read '56 Mal'.
- P. 32, l. 17, read 'aeegberht'.
- P. 36, l. 16, erase 'gehwerfæþ (Pl.) 7. 6; mis-werfde (Part.) 17. 17 neben'.
- P. 36, l. 7, introduce 'wyrpe (opt.?) 12. 27. 28; awyrpeþ (Ind. pl.) 12. 27'.
- P. 36, l. 16, introduce 'gewyrfeþ 6. 19. 20 (schw. ?)'.
- P. 36, l. 10, (fr. bot.) introduce 'vor g: bergaþ caute 16. 11'.

- P. 40, l. 5, read 'Stratmann'.
- P. 41, l. 10, (fr. bot.) read '-ðap 15. 8'; l. 11, '-eð 9. 34-'.
- P. 42, l. 3, introduce semi-colon before 'lige'.
- P. 42, l. 7 (fr. bot.) erase 'Pog. schreibt etc.' and transfer to p. 63, l. 2.
- P. 42, l. 11, (fr. bot.) read '§ 27. c.'
- P. 43, l. 17, (fr. bot.) after 'brymstream' add '(cf. Brenner, Eng. Stud. 16. 87)'.
- P. 44, l. 13, erase 'einmal e; sneddun 21. 8' and introduce p. 70, l. 4 fr. bot.
- P. 54, l. 11 (fr. bot.), introduce 'drync 10. 42'.
- P. 55, l. 16, after 'pytt' add '12. 11'.
- P. 55, l. 22, introduce 'spittende 27. 30; spittadun 26. 67'.
- P. 56, l. 10, (fr. bot.) read '242 e, 155 æ'.
- P. 56, l. 21, read 'im Altenglischen'.
- P. 57, l. 21, introduce 'efen 14. 15. 23; 20. 8; 26. 20. 26; 8. 16; 23. 6; -ne 28. 1; 16. 2; æfenne 27. 57'.
- P. 68, l. 20, (fr. bot.) introduce 'man 5. 33'.
- P. 73, l. 15, read 'Gloss' for 'Gbs'.
- P. 75, l. 6. 7, (fr. bot.) introduce '( )' before 'cf.' and after 'Anm. 5'.
- P. 77, l. 5. 6, erase 'neowe 9. 17 etc. .... niowe 9. 17' and s. § 31.
- P. 78, l. 10. 11, erase all in parenthesis '(das eo etc. .... An. 1)'.
- For the phonology of the advs., gen 19. 20; get 24. 6 etc. s. Pt. II., § 9. a.

## Corrections to Pt. II.

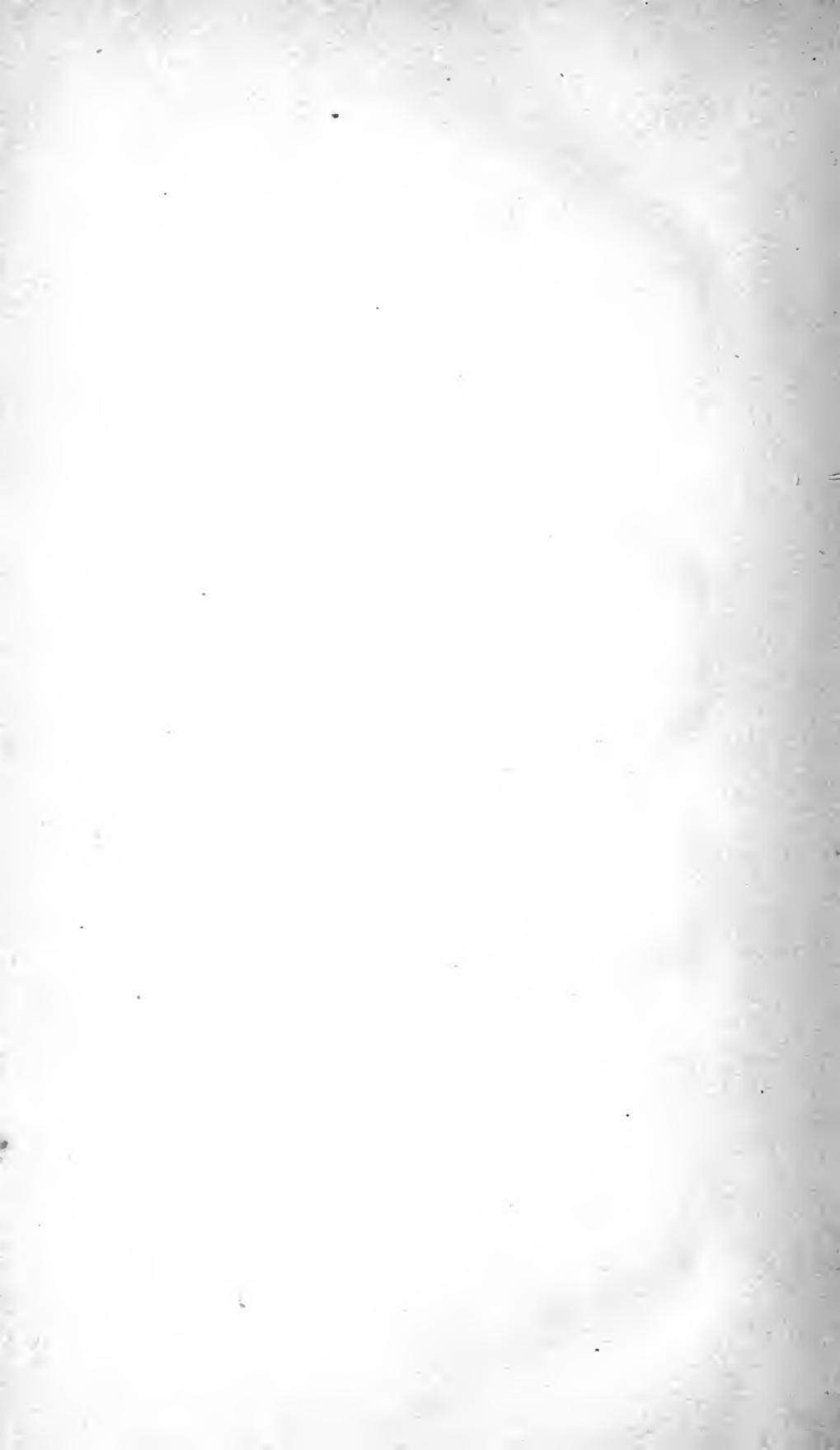
In § 1, l) introduce '-er in winbegær 7. 16, (cf. OET. p. 609.)'.

In § 1, d) introduce 'gemænes (= gomæn-nes) 27. 19'.

In § 1, f) add 'Prop. names in -ing: gemoringa 10. 15; gerasinga 8. 28; sodominga 10. 15, (cf. Kluge, Stammb., § 26)'.









**14 DAY USE  
RETURN TO DESK FROM WHICH BORROWED**

**LOAN DEPT.**

This book is due on the last date stamped below, or  
on the date to which renewed.  
Renewed books are subject to immediate recall.

Jun 23 1962

**REC'D LD**

**MAY 27 1962**

**SENT ON ILL**

**JUN 23 1999**

**U. C. BERKELEY**

LID 21A-50m-3, '62  
(07097s10)476B

General Library  
University of California  
Berkeley



